

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

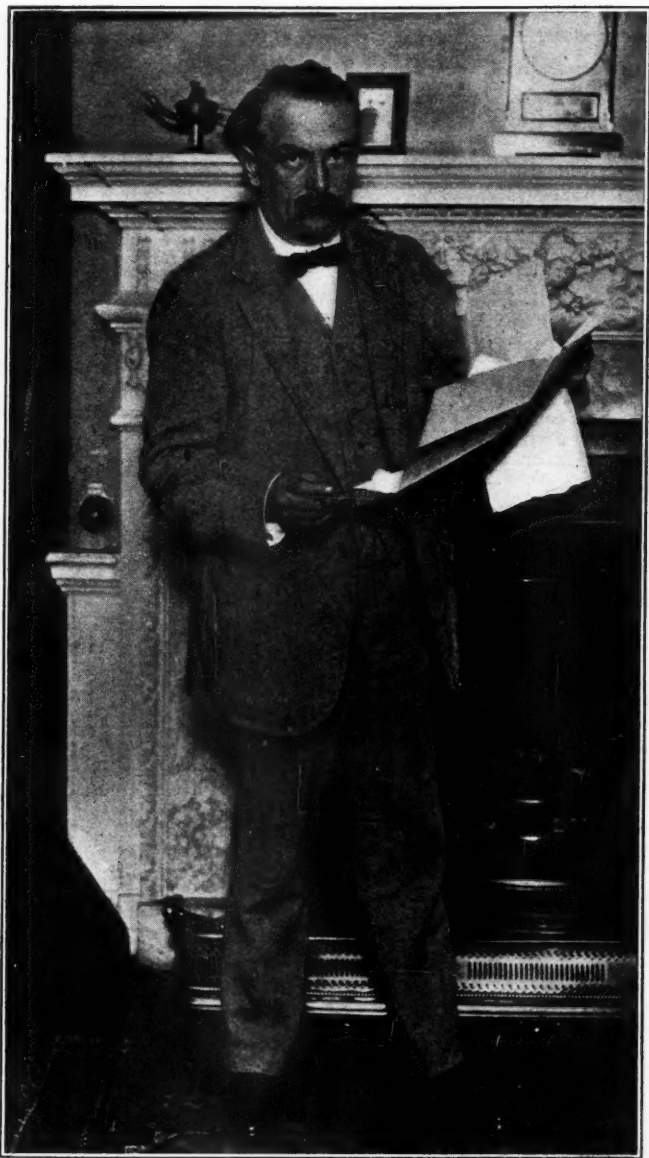
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TERMS:—Issued monthly, 25 cents a number, \$3.00 a year in advance in the United States, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Cuba, Canada, Mexico, and the Philippines. Elsewhere, \$4.00. Entered at New York Post Office as second class matter under Act of Congress, March 3, 1879. Entered as second class matter at the Post Office Department, Ottawa, Canada. Subscribers may remit to us by post-office or express money orders, or by bank checks, drafts, or registered letters. Money in letters is sent at sender's risk. Renew as early as possible in order to avoid a break in the receipt of the numbers. Bookdealers, Postmasters and Newsdealers receive subscriptions. (Subscriptions to the English Review of Reviews, which is edited and published in London, may be sent to this office, and orders for single copies can also be filled, at the price of \$2.50 for the yearly subscription, including postage, or 25 cents for single copies.)

THE REVIEW OF REVIEWS CO., 30 Irving Place, New York

ALBERT SHAW, Pres. CHAS. D. LANIER, Sec. and Treas.



DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, PREMIER OF ENGLAND, IN HIS HOME

"There is a time in every prolonged war, in the passionate rage of the conflict, when men forget the high purpose with which they entered into it.

"This is a struggle for international right, international honor, international good faith—the channel along which peace on earth and good will among men must follow.

"The trained sense of fair play among the nations, the growth of an international consciousness for the protection of the weak against the strong, of a stronger consciousness that justice has a more powerful backing in the world than greed, the knowledge that any outrage upon fair dealing between nations, great or small, will meet with prompt and inevitable chastisement—these constitute the causeway along which humanity was progressing slowly to higher fields."

—From the Premier's great speech of December 19, in Parliament.

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LV

NEW YORK, JANUARY, 1917

No. 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*President
Wilson's Appeal
to Europe*

President Wilson had long desired to influence the two belligerent groups in Europe—on behalf of suffering humanity and the true interests of nations and civilization—to proceed to define more explicitly their purposes in prosecuting the war. The period of his own campaign for reelection gave him opportunity to express such ideas more than once as his own personal views; but that was not the time for an official statement to the warring powers. After the Presidential contest was settled, he prepared an identic note to the belligerents, with the aid of Secretary Lansing. It expressed the hope that the nations would find early occasion to disclose their specific objects and state their views, so that comparison might be made. It declared the vital interest of the United States in "measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world." It did not propose a method of procedure, but tendered any good offices that might be desired. In view of the swift and surprising movement of events in Europe in the middle of December, as set forth in our following paragraphs, President Wilson decided to send his note on the night of the 18th, just before the British Premier's maiden speech. It was not made public, however, either in Europe or America, until the morning of the 21st, nor was it known until then that it had been sent.

*The Most
Momentous
Speech*

The new British Premier, David Lloyd George, was to make his first appearance as head of the British Government before the House of Commons in the afternoon of Tuesday, December 19. He was to make a speech bearing upon the reconstruction of the British cabinet, but bearing much more importantly upon the world issues of war and peace. His speech was to give some kind of answer to utterances of the German Chancellor, von Bethmann Hollweg, and was to foreshadow

the reply that Great Britain and her allies would make to a note suggesting peace negotiations that Germany and her allies had caused to be sent, through neutral channels, to the belligerent powers of the Entente group. There have been important speeches associated with the beginning and the conduct of this European war. But never in history has a single platform effort been awaited with such anxious interest, or regarded as so profoundly important to not less than a billion and a half of human beings, as the speech that Mr. Lloyd George was to make on this occasion. The strain attending the upset of the Asquith cabinet and the formation of the new ministry had made the Premier ill for a week or more, but he rose to the occasion and delivered his speech at the scheduled time. It was an eloquent, unqualified repudiation of the German proposal to open peace negotiations without previous statement of terms. The whole object of the new Cabinet formation was to make war rather than to make peace. The unmistakable tenor of the British position, as set forth by Lloyd George and accepted by the nation, was for the waging of war to the point of victory, with Germany compelled to accept terms as imposed by conquerors. Whether for weal or for woe, the Allies have made their decision. They are determined, as Mr. Lloyd George says (quoting Abraham Lincoln), that the war "will never end" until its "object is attained."

*Germany's
Peace
Overtures*

It was in November that a prominent Austrian remarked, with quasi-official prophecy, that the step just ahead was to be the capture of Bucharest by the German armies and that the next step would be a move for peace. Bucharest was evacuated by the Rumanians and triumphantly entered by General Mackensen on December 6. It was only six days later, on December 12, that the German Government—with the concurrence of Aus-

tria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey—sent notes to the Entente Allies stating that "prompted by the desire to avoid further bloodshed and make an end to the atrocities of war, the four allied powers propose to enter forthwith upon negotiations for peace." It was evident that the note had been carefully timed to follow the swift collapse of Rumania, so that it might seem to carry the magnanimous tone of an unshaken and invincible Germany, rather than appear to be a signal of distress and an appeal for help to escape from a hopeless situation. The note declared that the "proposals which they (Germany and her allies) will submit . . . are, according to their firm belief, an appropriate basis for the establishment of a lasting peace." It was inferred at first that certain specific proposals, not given to the public, were also forwarded for transmission to the Entente Governments. But it soon appeared that these were held to be disclosed in case the idea of negotiations should be accepted. The United States was asked to communicate with Great Britain, France, Russia, and Belgium. Spain was to notify Portugal. And through Switzerland the offer was to be extended to Italy.

Their First Reception

Newspaper announcement carried the note of Germany and her allies throughout the civilized world on the day of its promulgation at Berlin. It became at once the topic of principal discussion in England, France, and



IS IT A WILL-O'-THE-WISP, OR THE TRUE TORCH OF BECKONING PEACE?

From the News (Dayton, Ohio)

Russia, as well as in all other countries, whether neutral or belligerent. The first impression produced upon the minds of government leaders, and upon the press, in England and France was extremely unfavorable. Germany, it was said, had merely chosen a new way of expressing the official Teutonic idea of the past year or more, that the Entente Powers were needlessly prolonging the war because unwilling to make peace on the basis of having been decisively beaten. For the first day it looked as if Germany's proposal would be contemptuously disregarded. Yet there began to arise, throughout the world, a demand that the cause of peace be given some sort of hearing in the interest of humanity and civilization. Scores of millions of plain people in both warring alliances had not yet found out what they were fighting for, and were suffering too profoundly to be impressed with the arguments that demanded complete victory at any cost. Opinion in neutral nations had begun to entertain the view that the war might go on for a long time without giving either side a decisive victory, although devastation might proceed at an increasing ratio. Thus the immense advertising of the possibility of peace had, within three days after the publication of the German note, so marvelously affected the sentiment of the world as to make it seem reasonable to think that there might, indeed, be an earnest attempt to find a basis of settlement, although this had seemed wholly impossible on December 13, when the German message was disseminated.

*Moderate
Counsels of an
Expert*

Mr. Simonds, who discusses this question of peace (see page 45) in his monthly review of the European conflict, is not able to entertain the opinion of many of his friends who sympathize with the Entente Powers, that it would be wholly wrong to negotiate at this time with a Germany still too arrogant to confess her sins and plead for mercy. Mr. Simonds has consistently held that Germany's original plans were hopelessly frustrated by the outcome of the Battle of the Marne. Nor has he believed that from the standpoint of the four major powers allied against Germany and Austria, the crushing of Rumania adds much to Germany's essential advantage or bears vitally upon the balance of military power. But he sees a period of terrible bloodshed on the fighting fronts, of increasing hardship to women and children at home, of probable bankruptcy for governments, and

of wholly unprecedented and immeasurable harm to civilization, if the war is to go on for the next two or three years upon the lines projected by the new and energetic leaders that every country is bringing to the front. All the fighting nations are mobilizing their entire populations, and systematizing all their industrial resources, for war efforts on a far larger scale than those of the past two years. It is a fearful prospect.

*Vastness
of War's
Mechanism*

So titanic has the struggle become, in its plans for the immediate future, that all the participating nations bid fair to destroy themselves. England is trying to overthrow Germany by starving millions of women and children through the operation of a so-called "blockade" that defies the rules and principles of international law, and by restrictions upon the commerce of neutrals that are equally without color of legality. Germany, driven from the surface of the sea, has in retaliation invented a kind of submarine warfare that, if persisted in, must soon grow too serious for sneers and cavils. For a good while it was declared in England that the percentage of merchant shipping sunk by submarines was too small to make any appreciable difference in the number of ships entering and clearing from British ports and in the volume of trade. But the actual percentage of loss of British marine tonnage through submarine cruiser warfare is no measure of the effect of that method upon conditions of life in the great island kingdom. Two years of submarine ravage have been endured by the British with characteristic doggedness. Perhaps more new tonnage has been built and launched than the amount that has been destroyed. It is one thing, however, to have



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CHANCELLOR THEOBALD VON BETHMANN-HOLLWEG,
OF GERMANY

(This new picture shows the stern and stalwart figure of the statesman who has continued through the vicissitudes of war to hold his leadership while premiers have been changed in all other leading countries.)



THE HELP OF THE ENTENTE ALLIES HAS PROVED A
VAIN PROTECTION FOR STORM-SWEPT RUMANIA
From the *Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)

lived somehow through the past two years, but a very different thing to look forward to an indefinite continuance of the war, with the certainty that hundreds of merchant ships are yet to be sunk, with the possibility of a real food crisis in Great Britain not later than next year.

*Transmission
of the Notes*

The note was unofficially in the hands of governments through the authoritative agencies of the press before it could be officially received and transmitted. It was sent to the American

Government, because we represent German interests during the war with the four governments of Great Britain, France, Russia, and Belgium. It was at first thought that President Wilson might attempt to express American views to Great Britain and her allies while passing along the German note. But after an extended Cabinet meeting on the 15th it was decided that the occasion had not arisen for a renewed official American expression. It was the duty of our Government promptly to transmit the German note.

It was for the Entente Allies to decide for themselves what answer to make after they had received it. The President and his advisers were of the opinion that since neither belligerent group was at this moment looking to the mediation of the neutral powers, it would be inopportune for the United States Government to reiterate its well-known desire to see the war brought to an end, upon plans and principles that would insure a permanent peace and give measurable security to all nations. Perhaps we should at this point remind our readers that Germany's allies also transmitted notes, of simultaneous date and of similar purport, though not of identical phraseology. The reasons for variation are not clear.

The Pope and Peace

It is also very important to remember that a separate letter was addressed to the Pope, accompanying a copy of the note to the Entente belligerents. This message to the Vatican was highly appreciative of the desire of the head of the Catholic Church for peace, and ended with the following sentence:

The Imperial Government is firmly confident that the initiative of the four powers will find friendly welcome on the part of His Holiness, and that the work of peace can count upon the precious support of the Holy See.

The most intensely Catholic peoples of Europe are slaughtering one another in this war. Conspicuous on one side are the Belgian people, led by their eminent churchman and patriot, Cardinal Mercier. Hardly less conspicuous on the other side are the Tyrolese, desperately resisting the hordes of Italian invaders. It is not to be wondered at that the central authorities of the Catholic Church, at the Vatican, see the cause of peace as something far greater and more valuable to Christendom than the specific details of commercial, colonial, and imperative rivalry that constitute the only objective issues over which the governments have allowed controversy to ripen into conflict of arms.



CARDINAL MERCIER

(Spokesman for the Belgian people in their recent appeal against removal for forced labor in Germany)

The Greatest Menace

If all the warring countries could do away with their governing cliques and groups, for the time being, and select arbiters to propose a common-sense solution for all outstanding questions of dispute between nations, there would be no further occasion for bloodshed, nor would there be any reason for the maintenance of large armaments. The peoples of all countries, neutrals as well as belligerents,

are the victims of this senseless and wicked war. The fact that stands out is the utter unfitness of that controlling mechanism that we call "government," to represent the real and vital interests of present-day human society. First of all, then, the Pope is justified in doing everything in his power to bring the war to an end. But it will then be his duty, as representing something larger than mere nationalism, to join with all other agencies that represent the real welfare of mankind in finding ways to protect civilization against its greatest menace. That menace, plainly, is the unrestrained operation in the world of rival governments, engaged in criminal pursuit of the nationalistic or im-

perial aims, regardless of the rights and well-being of humankind at large.

Peace Brought
Nearer

Whatever may come of the immediate bid for peace, and however much or little consequence in a military sense the Rumanian collapse may prove to have, it was obvious to everybody that with the wane of 1916 there had come a memorable turning-point in the general situation. Mr. Simonds had perceived the relation of events so clearly that he entitled his contribution to this magazine last month, "Germany Makes a New Bid for Peace by Battle." So accurate was his forecast, and so clear was his analysis, that what he wrote some weeks ago reads to-day like chapters of maturely composed history rather than pages of swift contemporary journalism. He showed us that the Hindenburg strategy, as carried out by Mackensen and Falkenhayn, was destined to win Bucharest within a few days, and that it had for its chief object such a demonstration of Germany's military prowess as would afford a dramatic occasion for an offer to make peace, upon terms that might be regarded as reasonable when coming at such a moment. The most surprising thing, therefore, about the peace offer was the surprise that it encountered in the stock market and in other quarters that ought to have been well informed and forewarned. Even those who believed that Germany



THE ANCIENT TRICK OF CLAIMING WHAT YOU SEIZE
THE THIEF (Germany): "They want to take my possessions away from me!"
From *Le Cri de Paris* (Paris)



POTSDAM "NERVE"

THE BURGLAR: "I am quite prepared to make terms provided I can keep the swag."

(Only when statesmen take the war situation as the map shows it, and honorably desire to discuss practical peace proposals, shall we approach peace. If Europe continues to bleed I absolutely repudiate any responsibility.—Bethmann-Hollweg in the Reichstag.)

From the *Cape Times* (Cape Town, South Africa)

could in her present mood offer no acceptable terms, and would accept no counter-proposals such as the Entente might agree upon, were somehow convinced that peace was brought nearer by an official proposal to consider it. It was believed that both sides would now be compelled to tell their own people, to tell their opponents, and to tell the world at large, what they were really fighting for and what inducements would lead them to cease fighting. With each side virtually compelled to say what it would give or take, it looked as if the controversy might be brought down to something like an irreducible minimum of differences, for which the world might then proceed to seek honorable adjustments.

Foreign
Office
Cynicism

But meanwhile the situation at the end of 1916 was compelling enlarged war effort in all the countries most affected. It had been a shocking thing to see statesmen of the great Entente Allies persuade neutral and prosperous little Rumania into their partnership



LORD NORTHCLIFFE, FORMERLY SIR ALFRED HARMSWORTH

(England's foremost newspaper proprietor, who has led in the movement to set aside Asquith and Grey and bring Lloyd George to the helm)

of violence only to throw her to the wolves for their own momentary relief. They had sacrificed Belgium, they had sacrificed Serbia, they were perchance preparing to sacrifice Greece, and now they had sacrificed Rumania. They had even been cynical enough, through recognized spokesmen, to intimate that they were rather better off than worse, because if Falkenhayn and Mackensen had not been employing several hundred thousand men against the Rumanians they would have been employing those same Teutonic armies, under superb leadership, against the main lines in France or Russia. Furthermore, we are told, the Rumanian campaign had cost the Central Powers much material of war and many casualties and in a war of attrition and exhaustion everything counted.

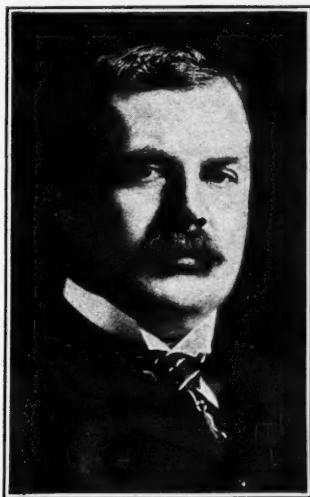
It is no wonder that there should have been an imperative demand for reorganization in all the Entente countries. The people and the press were not cynical in England, or France, or Russia over the failure to support Rumania after having brought her into

England
Anxious to
"Make Good"

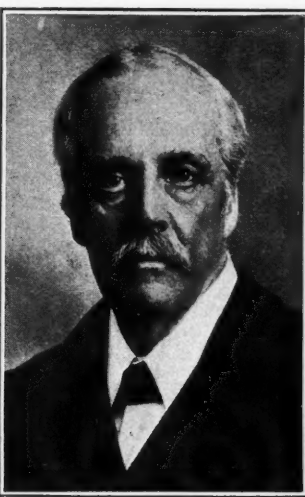
the war. They had sense enough to see that there had been bad management, and they merely demanded the right to substitute better. They wished peace, but also they wished first to "make good." Thus the new cabinet under the premiership of Mr. Lloyd George, in Great Britain, did not come into being because there was any desire to punish or condemn the management of Asquith and Grey and their coalition cabinet. It was simply that there was a demand for the highest efficiency in carrying on the war that England was capable of; and the most efficient of the war leaders in the Asquith cabinet was placed at the head. Mr. Asquith had been an able parliamentary leader; but he was not the man for supreme leadership in a great war emergency requiring something like dictatorial management. Grey, at the Foreign Office, had been a horrible liability. Mr. Lloyd George had organized war finance as Chancellor of the Exchequer, had organized British industry for war purposes as Minister of Munitions, and had developed the British armies as Minister of War after Lord Kitchener's death. He had seen that the war could not be prosecuted by the existing cabinet of twenty-three members. The newspapers, led by Lord Northcliffe, owner of the *London Times* and the *Daily Mail*, had made a winning fight for the necessary change.

The New War Council

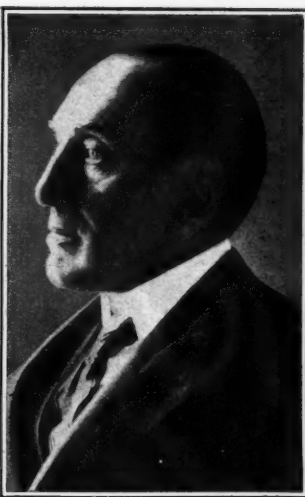
The fall of Bucharest brought the lesson home, and Mr. Asquith was obliged to resign. Mr. Lloyd George found it possible to secure ample backing, so that on December 6 he took office as Prime Minister with a reorganized cabinet, and a Parliament willing and eager to support him. Although Lloyd George has always been a Radical Liberal, his strongest support comes from the other side of the House. Four men besides himself constitute the new War Council. Three of the four belong to the Unionist, or Conservative, party. These are Mr. Bonar Law and Lords Curzon and Milner. The other member is Mr. Arthur Henderson, a member of the Labor party. Mr. Law is the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, and is the Government leader in the House of Commons. Earl Curzon is the leader in the House of Lords. Henderson and Milner are ministers without portfolio, and can thus give their entire time to their work as members of the War Council. Mr. Arthur



LORD DERBY
(Minister of War)



RT. HON. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR
(Foreign Minister)



SIR EDWARD CARSON
(Naval Minister)

THESE ARE THREE LEADING MEMBERS OF THE NEW BRITISH CABINET.

(For portraits of Lloyd George and his War Council Group see page 53)

J. Balfour becomes Foreign Minister, replacing Grey. Lord Derby becomes War Secretary, and Sir Edward Carson is First Lord of the Admiralty. Dr. Christopher Addison, who had helped build up the war-supply business, is the new Minister of Munitions.

**Business
Men in the
Lead**

A number of vigorous men of business and practical affairs are brought into the cabinet and ministry, and it may be fairly said that never in the history of England has the political administration so well represented the efficiency and power of the nation as does this new cabinet, led by the son of a poor Welsh schoolmaster, who has risen on his merits to the headship of the world's greatest empire. Parliament immediately granted further war credits on a vast scale, and the answer to Germany was a renewal of British vigor and effort all along the line. The retention of Lord Robert Cecil to enforce the so-called "blockade" and the Orders in Council is highly unfortunate; and it remains to be seen whether Mr. Balfour is precisely the right man at the Foreign Office. That his qualifications are incomparably better than those of his ever-blundering predecessor admits of no argument. There has been no break in the unity and the continuity of British purpose and effort. Reorganization has brought no entirely new men into the field, but it has advanced some

men of marked executive talent to more conspicuous or more authoritative posts.

**Two Typical
Organizers**

For example, Lord Devonport, who now forges to the front as, in many respects, the most remarkable man in the new cabinet, holds the office of Food Controller, with complete authority over every phase of supply and distribution. As Hudson E. Kearley—born on

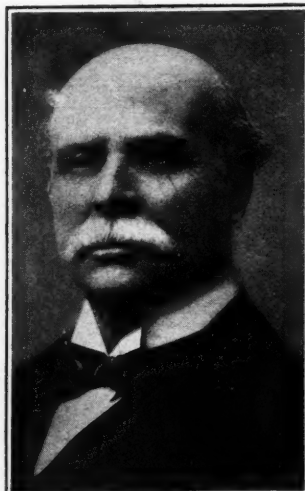


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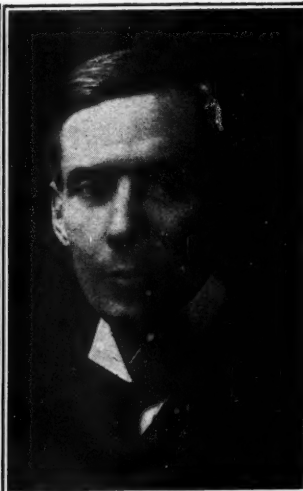
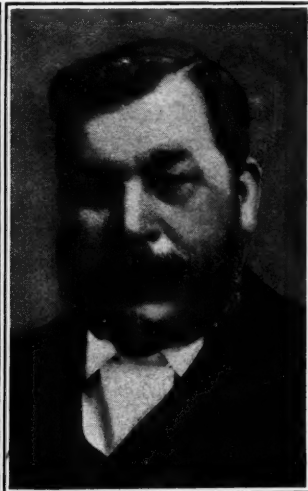
SHARPENING THE SWORD

(John Bull turns the grindstone for Mr. Lloyd George)

From the *Evening World* (New York)



© International Film Service

LORD DEVONPORT
(Minister of Food Control)DR. CHRISTOPHER ADDISON
(Minister of Munitions)JOHN HODGE
(Minister of Labor)

THESE ARE THREE VERY IMPORTANT MEN OF PRACTICAL AFFAIRS IN THE NEW BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

a small farm and later an errand boy in a tea store—he became England's greatest grocer, outrivaling Thomas Lipton. He went to Parliament, and eleven years ago, when Lloyd George was serving in a post that other countries would call Secretary of Commerce, Kearley was his Under Secretary and most efficient helper. He was made a Baronet at Lloyd George's suggestion; and as Sir Hudson Kearley he worked out the present system of control and administration for the port of London—a stupendous undertaking, upon the strength of which he was raised to the peerage and six years ago assumed the title of Lord Devonport. He will introduce sweeping reforms and economies. Another conspicuous arrival at the front, now President of the Board of Trade (Secretary of Commerce), is Sir Albert Stanley, an American railroad man who worked his way up as a street-railroad official in Detroit, and went to London only about nine years ago to help reorganize and electrify the underground railways of the English metropolis, leaving a post in New Jersey. Only three years ago he became a British subject. Within less than a year afterwards, he was knighted by King George, and to-day he holds one of the most important offices in the cabinet.

*New Methods
Also in France*

In France, a reorganization of a similar kind has been going on. The direction of the war under Premier Briand will henceforth be in the hands of a much smaller group. General

Nivelle commands the armies on the fighting front, and General Joffre, with no loss of prestige, becomes the military adviser and associate of the Prime Minister and the War Council. The new French War Council will work hand in hand with that of England. The dynamic force of Premier Briand is now universally known. He is the French Lloyd George. The new Minister of War, General Lyautey, is said to be the best-qualified man in France for the task of military organization. He is the constructive genius who has been making a new Morocco—a man of business, of military knowledge, and of administrative efficiency.

Ribot, the Finance Minister, and Admiral Lacaze, as Minister of Marine, hold the same portfolios as in the old cabinet, but have more power as members of the small War Council. The remaining member, Albert Thomas, has immense power as Minister of Munitions and of Transportation. He has until now been Under Secretary, in charge of munition-



Photo by Bain News Service.

SIR A. H. STANLEY
(Formerly American
railroad man, now sitting
in British Cabinet)

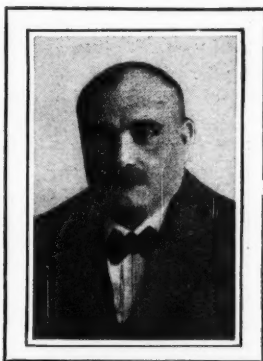
making. His new office has unlimited scope. Under him, as his two right-hand men, are the foremost railroad manager of France (Claiveille) and one of the principal men in the steel industry (Loucheur). Here at last, in these five men, France has found her superb organization for running the country on a war footing. Ribot is a financier of the highest order, and the head of the navy is satisfactory.

**A New
Russian
Premier**

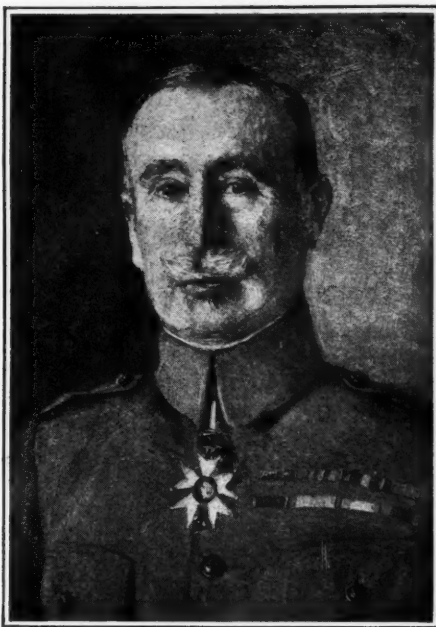
It is also evident that Russia is under better leadership and has a more definite aim and spirit than at any previous moment since the outbreak of the war. The new Prime Minister, Trepoff, has taken bold positions, and ended the rumor that German influences surrounding the Russian court were working hopefully for a separate peace. Cabinet reconstruction was going on last month, and the influence and authority of the Duma were evidently increasing. The greatest enthusiasm had followed the announcement by Premier Trepoff, on December 2, that Russia's allies had definitely agreed to the plan of giving Constantinople and the straits connecting the Black and Mediterranean seas to Russia in the settlement at the end of the war. Russia is determined to regain Poland and to win Constantinople. It is not believed that any

German proposals at this time could satisfy Russia. In fact, the new Foreign Minister, Pokrovsky, speaking for the Czar at a session of the Duma on December 16, advocated the flat refusal to consider German peace proposals, and this view was supported

by a resolution unanimously adopted by the representative body. On December 19 it was announced from Petrograd that the Council of the Russian Empire had on that day adopted an "order" identical with the Duma resolution, unanimously refusing "to enter under present conditions into any peace negotiations with Germany."



M. CLAIVILLE
(New Government director of French railroads and transportation)



GEN. ROBERT GEORGES NIVELLE

(The great soldier trained by General Joffre, who now succeeds that veteran in command of the French armies on the fighting line)

**Russia's
Immense
Progress**

With American interests so focussed upon David Lloyd George as the organizer of British resources and the discoverer of a new type of business statesmanship, it is easy to ignore, through lack of available information, what is going on in the most colossal of all modern nations. The war has brought a great ferment into the life of Russia. Education is to become universal and compulsory. The prohibition of vodka goes with a general reform of popular conditions. The press is more liberal than ever before. There is to be a new Russia, and already the marks of progress are manifest. This new Premier, Alexander Theodorovitch Trepoff, is in sympathy with everything that is associated with sane progress in Russia. He helped to create the Duma, and has studied the parliaments of western Europe. He has had much to do with provincial government. It is he who, since the war began, has laid out the great scheme of new railroads and canals; and as Minister of Transportation he has been trying to repair the blunders of the first months of the struggle. He is rapidly building 25,000 miles of railroads on a ten-year program. He will cooperate with Lloyd George and Briand in working out Allied plans.



GENERAL VON GROENER

(Now in charge of the entire civil organization of German life and industry)

*Groener's
German
Program*

There have been some cabinet changes in Germany also, though not through dissatisfaction with the Government. The resignation of Herr von Jagow, as Foreign Minister, resulted in the promotion of the equally prominent Herr Zimmerman, who has been the efficient Under Secretary. The most notable change has been the organization of the task of mobilizing the entire nation for war service. A new and commanding office has been created, under the headship of General Groener. He is master of all resources, material and human. How German authority has firmly insisted upon retiring and promoting generals, as their capabilities have been tested in practice, is well shown in our article, "German Military Leaders" (see page 68). What Hindenburg has now become in the actual conduct of the war, Groener is to all that can contribute to the supply and maintenance of the war. He is master of munition-making, master of transportation by rail and canal, master of food production and distribution, master of employment and the dis-

tribution of labor. Austria and Bulgaria are patterning their closer organization of war energies upon the German model.

*A Banker
Premier of
Austria*

Assassination and resignation having disposed of two Austrian premiers within a few weeks, a third has come into power and the cabinet has been reorganized. The new Government head is Herr Alexander Spitzmueller, a banker and business man. The tendency in Austria, as in other European countries, is toward a cabinet of practical men experienced in large undertakings. We are publishing elsewhere two articles dealing with Austrian problems, one of them presenting a study of the long career of the late Francis Joseph, and the other dealing with the present and future of Austria as the new Emperor, Charles I, contemplates his polyglot realms and seeks to find a basis for their



DR. ALFRED ZIMMERMANN

(New Minister of Foreign Affairs, who favors friendly relations with the United States)

stable coöperation in the future. Thus both groups of belligerents are organizing for a higher degree of war efficiency than has yet been shown by either. Such energy and effort should be turned to objects of human welfare, and not to the wholesale and general destruction of Europe.

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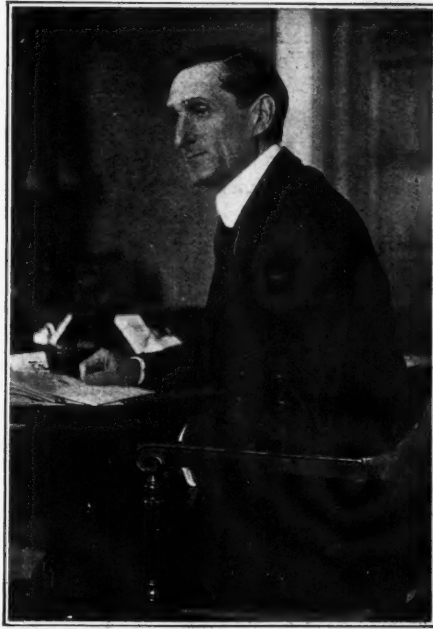
No Changes
in the
United States

In the United States we have not, as in Europe, found new governmental leadership, nor is any reorganization thought to be probable. President Wilson's re-election has been accepted with characteristic good temper and with an evident desire in all quarters to sustain him in every wise and patriotic policy. Earlier rumors of numerous cabinet changes to be made on March 4, when Mr. Wilson begins his second term, have been discredited. If changes are to be made, the secret has been well kept. It is said with no contradiction that the President has invited every member of the present cabinet to remain at his post. It has been a diligent and also a highly respectable cabinet, not much given to posing and without a single member who errs on the side of garrulity or plays for the big headlines on the front page. If one goes far enough back in our history, he may find a President or two of commonplace qualities somewhat eclipsed by scintillating cabinet officers. Mr. Wilson has not created that kind of an entourage. The most striking personalities in the cabinet as first formed were Mr. Bryan and Mr. Garrison; but much history has been made in their respective departments since they gave up their portfolios.

Mr. McAdoo
and the
Treasury

Mr. McAdoo took to the Treasury Department his well-known qualities of alertness, optimism, efficiency and courage to attempt and to persist in the face of difficulties. He has been associated with that great achievement, the reform of our currency and the establishment of the Federal Reserve Board. In our opinion, his record will bear comparison with that of any other Secretary of the Treasury who has held office during recent administrations. It remains to be seen what success will attend the operation of the Federal Farm Loan Act; but we know at least that the farmers have already applied for a great sum in the aggregate. Mr. McAdoo has interested himself keenly in the growth of Pan-American business relationships. He has witnessed stupendous changes in the volume of the national income and outgo, and in the system of taxation. His new report is full of data of unusual importance. It could not be otherwise in these times.

We may remark without hesitation that no administration of the country's finances has ever come through a Presidential cam-



HON. WILLIAM G. MCADOO, SECRETARY OF THE
TREASURY

(At his desk in the Treasury Department)

paign with criticisms so few or so unconvincing as those brought forward, in the recent campaign, against the present conduct of our vast financial business. Mr. McAdoo is to be congratulated upon this remarkable fact. It would take a long article to review in the briefest way the many topics of national concern broached in his report. He is to be commended for his unsparing exposure of the kind of omnibus public-buildings measure now pending in Congress. These scandalous log-rolling bills provide expensive post-office buildings in small towns or hamlets, where they are not needed; and meanwhile the Government's need of buildings for its necessary work at Washington is not met. Let us hope that President Wilson's veto will be as unhesitating as Secretary McAdoo's criticism is unqualified.

Our
Constructive
"Home
Secretary"

Secretary Lane's management of the Interior Department has been so judicious and withal so constructive that if a progressive Republican administration were to be installed, the retention of Mr. Lane would be urged by many citizens as desirable from every standpoint. His new report gives us a picturesque while accurate description of the settlement of the public lands, and an analysis of the land

problems that remain, where irrigation or drainage is necessary, or in the high latitude of Alaska. We have a fascinating account of the methods and ceremonies now employed in bringing selected Indians into full citizenship. Mr. Lane's department looks after the distribution of \$160,000,000 a year through the Pension Bureau. It has dealt with the application, by our inventive Americans, for 70,000 patents during the past year, under direction of Commissioner Ewing. In Secretary Lane's Department is the Bureau of Education, headed by Commissioner Claxton, one of our greatest leaders in the improvement of rural schools. The Geological Survey, the Reclamation Service, the Bureau of Mines, the territorial affairs of Alaska and Hawaii, the National Parks and national monuments, and many other matters of general interest, are under the sway of Mr. Lane's department, which is run more coherently than ever before.

As to Selling Documents

Every citizen ought to be able to obtain Mr. Lane's report easily, and every public school should have a copy of it for readings and discussion in American history and current events. It is a mistake that this report does not state plainly how the citizen or the school may buy it and for what price. The English Government is constantly getting out valuable official reports, every one of which bears across its face, in bold italics, the number of pence or of shillings for which it may be obtained. Our American public monographs and bulletins are better now than any in Europe. They ought to be distributed on a good system. Congressional stupidity is chiefly at fault; and Congressional stupidity is hard to deal with, simply because there are so many Congressmen. They are not stupid individually, but collectively they are a discouraging agency. The department reports should be sold to everybody for about six cents apiece. It is impossible for the newspapers to give more than the faintest notion of their contents. On our editorial desk at this moment lie numerous fresh department reports and special bureau reports that should have the widest distribution. Thus, besides Mr. Lane's general report, we have the special reports of his different bureaus, such as that of the Commissioner of the General Land Office, the Hon. Clay Tallman. The yearly reports of the Hon. Cato Sells, head of the Indian Bureau, are always readable and instructive.

Circulate the Stories!

Every one of these department summaries and special reports should have a popular circulation of from one million to five million copies, and a very slight infusion of business ability in the management of this part of the Government's work would result in vast educational benefits to the country. The thing that had most to do with Governor Whitman's triumphant reelection was a little book containing a narrative account of the work of his administration, distributed broadcast throughout New York State. A majority of the voters who read it found out for the first time in their lives what the Governor of New York had to do and how he was doing it. Now it happens that at Washington we have these interesting reports, but no effective way of getting them into the hands of the millions who ought to read them.

The Labor Report

Take, for instance, the fourth annual report of the Secretary of Labor. A few thoughtful and well-informed people are aware that we have now in the cabinet a new position, which began with President Wilson's administration, and of which the Hon. William B. Wilson has thus far been the only incumbent. He was born in Scotland in 1862, began working in the Pennsylvania coal mines as a boy, has been a member of the Mine Workers' Union since he was eleven years old, and was elected three times to Congress before he became Secretary of Labor, March 5, 1913. Secretary Wilson's fourth report is a compact document of 133 pages, weighing seven ounces. It deals with a great many subjects of human interest, and is of permanent importance. The Secretary deals directly with the two great subjects of employment and mediation in labor disputes. He deals in a supervisory way with the Bureau of Immigration and the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Within his department, also, is the new Children's Bureau, and the subject of child labor comes under his purview. The Bureau of Naturalization is showing great energy in its new methods of bringing about the more thorough training of citizens of foreign birth. This Labor Department is quietly finding its way toward an enlarging sphere of public service and social progress. At least a million copies of Wilson's report should be distributed post-paid at five cents a copy. It contains hopeful information that every school and every family would like to have.

*Redfield's
Review*

Secretary Redfield's report of the work of the Department of Commerce is an admirably arranged and printed document of 260 pages, with a careful index. It should be sent to every business house and firm in the United States, and to many thousands of citizens and institutions. At least a million copies should be distributed at not more than ten cents apiece. It contains diagrams and illustrations, and many parts of it are of fascinating interest. We could make no more than a meagerly intelligible allusion to the numerous topics it covers, in an entire page of this magazine. Let us take the volume backwards. Its last section is devoted to the Bureau of Navigation, and we have a timely summary of the American merchant marine, a comparison with the shipping of other countries, an account

voted to the Steamboat Inspection Service. Then we find more than thirty pages devoted to the remarkable scientific



HON. WILLIAM C. REDFIELD
(Secretary of Commerce)



HON. FRANKLIN K. LANE
(Secretary of the Interior)

of current shipbuilding here and abroad, and much else relating to our commerce by sea. Preceding that comes the section de-



HON. WILLIAM B. WILSON
(Secretary of Labor)

exploits of the Coast and Geodetic Survey. Passing over the work of the Bureau of Lighthouses, we come to that of Fisheries, with a notable range of information on every phase of fresh-water and salt-water fishes, fur-bearing animals in Alaska, and other kindred topics.

The Census Bureau and the Bureau of Standards come under Secretary Redfield's jurisdiction. At this time, of course, the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce is of especial interest. Many of the bureaus in this department have already a wide distribution for their documents, but there remains to be worked out a good system of sale, with abandonment of the former plan of free distribution. In another department, for instance, the report of General Crozier as Chief of Ordnance, is of remarkable popular interest.

Business and Government

We have perhaps kept our readers more closely in touch with the work of Secretary Houston and the Agricultural Department than with almost any other field of federal administration; and we shall have especial occasion next month to refer to Secretary Houston's new report and to certain activities of his Department. We shall also next month make reference to the problems of the Post-Office Department and the report of Mr. Burleson. It has been our purpose this month to note especially the work of the Government as it bears upon the economic life of the nation. All departments in one way or another are concerned with the people's daily affairs, but the War, Navy, State, and Law departments are less directly occupied with economic pursuits than are all the others. It should be especially borne in mind that the relations between government and business are acquiring greater stability through several new agencies that are destined to have an importance hardly as yet realized. The Federal Reserve Board is one of these. Several weeks ago it quietly expressed disapproval of the plan of passing great issues of unsecured British exchequer notes through American banks to American investors. The result has been to change the methods of the British Government, which is now planning to substitute another well-secured collateral loan, issued for a definite period of time. This Board is studying the question of our great gold reserve, as against the chance of too sudden a loss of gold after the end of the war. It stands between the American business public and another of those bankers' panics which in the past have needlessly sacrificed so many merchants and manufacturers.

Promising New Agencies

Another agency is the new Federal Trade Commission, which is steadily finding its way to a position of great value in our business life. Last month it was trying to help adjust the problem of paper supply and paper prices. The Interstate Commerce Commission has been a sad disappointment, but its reorganization in the near future ought to make it capable of dealing with our vast transportation system from the various standpoints of railroad finance, rates, and wages. There is to be a Tariff Board, which—if fortunately constituted—should prove able to recommend measures necessary for the maintenance and growth of our manufactures

when the end of the war will have brought about new world conditions. The Farm Loan Board, directing the operation of the new law, ought to promote agricultural production and prosperity in a marked degree. These boards at Washington will be of little use if they are filled up with little men. They afford opportunity for the ablest business men in the country to render far greater service than if they were filling seats in either branch of Congress. We have shown in preceding paragraphs that the strongest nations of Europe are now calling to the control of affairs their ablest captains of industry and transportation. Such men will continue to run those countries after the war. We on our part shall need at Washington our most public-spirited men of capacity and experience in affairs.

Our Impulse Congress

With so much to praise and admire in the steady-going work of the Departments at Washington, it is regrettable that one can find so little to praise or admire in the work of Congress. Things that are good and obviously necessary tend to drag along and are brought to a conclusion with the greatest difficulty. But things in the nature of sudden plunges from the sublime to the ridiculous have a fatal fascination for the House of Representatives. No human being has ever been able to give a sensible explanation of the Adamson Act, passed so suddenly for the exclusive benefit of 20 per cent. of the employees of railroads. Still less has anybody been able to measure the imbecility of that act which created the Adamson-Newlands Commission—instructed to investigate the operation of all public utilities of all countries on earth; to make a thorough study of all the different alternatives in ownership, supervision, and control of all railroads, telegraphs, telephones, and other utilities of the United States; and to furnish Congress with a completed report at a specified date—January 9, of the present month. This limit of time would not permit even the work of organizing the initial stages of a valuable inquiry. The commission has given a few days for the holding of some random hearings, permitting anybody to toss in his opinions upon any phase of the subjects involved. We are not reflecting upon the intelligence, ability, or experience of the men who make up the commission. They are a competent body (see list under portrait group on page 28). But their task should be definite, and their report deliberate.



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MR. GEORGE W. NORRIS, OF PHILADELPHIA

(Head of the Farm Loan Board)

MR. W. P. G. HARDING, OF BIRMINGHAM, ALA.

(Governor of the Federal Reserve Board)

MR. EDWARD NASH HURLEY, OF CHICAGO

(Chairman of the Federal Trade Commission)

THREE ABLE MEN OF AFFAIRS HOLDING POSITIONS OF GREAT AUTHORITY IN THE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

*Omniscience
on a
Week's Notice*

It happens, of course, that there exists a very extensive literature of these subjects, and that we have many economists and men of affairs who have views of one kind or another. Last month the Commission asked for more time, and did not seem to meet with much encouragement. It is to be hoped, of course, that the extension will not be granted, inasmuch as the task set forth was a wholly foolish one, in that its scope was limitless. Congress expected an omniscient report, on a clairvoyant basis. Senator Newlands himself in a single speech, with three months in which to prepare it, could deal more intelligently with all the subject-matter of the inquiry than anything that a joint commission could do, on the drag-net plan, after a period of futile floundering. It is extremely fortunate for the country that we are to have only two months more of the present Congress—with a prospect of nine clear months of vacation, and a new Congress meeting next December with a slight Republican majority in the House and a slight Democratic majority in the Senate. We shall presumably get no legislation through that deadlocked Sixty-fifth Congress unless well considered and reasonably sound. The present Congress has given us the Hay law, which is the most extravagant and most unintelligent piece of military legislation in the history of the country. Last month saw it crowding to completion a "pork" bill of

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the most scandalous character, robbing the Treasury of many millions of dollars to put needless federal buildings in small villages for the home credit of particular Congressmen who wish to demonstrate that they can grab as much for their neighbors as other Congressmen have been able to loot for theirs. Our words are quite too mild.

*The President's
Business
Views*

President Wilson's message to Congress, delivered in person on December 5, was, like most of his messages, very brief. More than two-thirds of it dealt with his program for settling the railroad question. The Adamson Law of the last session, advancing the wages of the railroad trainmen under pretext of an eight-hour day, was only a part of the larger scheme. The President asks the Senate to adopt the House measure which reorganizes the Interstate Commerce Commission. This is desirable if the reorganization is sufficiently extensive and thorough. Not merely the railroads, but the people of the entire country are to-day the victims of a situation for which the pettiness and bad judgment of the present Interstate Commerce Commission are solely responsible. A meager grain of common sense would have permitted the railroads to have income enough to finance their necessary improvements two or three years ago, when steel could be bought cheaply and labor and other supplies were obtainable. The Commission

has so misapprehended the proper uses of its rate-making power that it should be relieved of that power, or else should be rebuilt on lines which will lift it to a position commensurate with its capacity for good or evil. Under an aspect of painful conscientiousness, the Commission has proceeded with a mole-like blindness. Its members are individually intelligent and above reproach; but its methods as a body are injurious to the country.

*Try the Plan
of
Supervision!*

The complete establishment of federal supervision over all phases of transportation is the great remedy to be sought. President Wilson asks for legislation of some kind to prevent strikes on railroads. But the men strenuously oppose what they call "compulsory arbitration." Meanwhile the four brotherhoods have had a great lesson since they undertook to bluff the country some four months ago. They are aware now that they would have been much better off to have dealt directly with the railroad managers and to have kept away from politicians at Washington. The people of the United States do not intend to allow the wheels to be stopped. They are going to operate the railroads. A reorganized Interstate Commerce Commission, with a wage board as one of its bureaus, might well be tried before adopting the Canadian system, which has attempted to prevent strikes by legal postponement.



Uncle Sam, with his empty market-basket, beholding the import of gold and considering the export of food, remarks: "But I can't eat that stuff."

From the *World* (New York)

*Combines in
Export Trade*

President Wilson, in cautious circumlocutions, asks for the "creation" of "instrumentalities" for the "prosecution" of the "essential enterprise of building up our export trade." Mr. Wilson was well aware that he was facing the anti-trust prejudices of a Democratic Congress. He means that we cannot push our foreign trade, which is now growing so fast, unless by joint efforts and those "big-business" methods that here at home would run straight against the anti-trust laws. Mr. Wilson begins to deal much more reasonably with large business enterprises than did the Taft administration. He has discovered that sensible methods of supervision are much better than hostile attacks in the courts. There is just a little hope that government in the United States may learn sometime to proceed as sensibly with business and commerce as they have learned to do in Great Britain, Germany, and France.

*Food Prices
and Remedies*

Congress has been engaged somewhat convulsively in endeavors to find remedies for the high cost of food. Great Britain, thanks to the zeal and success of her financial agents in this country, has been able to take away vast quantities of our normal food supply, which is retailed in London (in spite of submarines and war conditions) more cheaply than the remainder is now retailed in New York, thanks to our blessings of peace and prosperity. Mr. Fitzgerald, the eminent chairman of the House Committee on Appropriations, has demanded an embargo on the export of food. All kinds of charges have been brought against middlemen and cold-storage firms. A great conference has been held in Chicago. New York's periodic interest in markets and food distribution has been once more awakened. There is no prospect at all that anything of a radical nature will be done, or that vital remedies will be applied. Almost every other country has found the remedies, but we do not find and apply them because they are so simple and obvious.

*'Wall Street's
Peace Panic*

Germany's request for a conference to discuss terms of peace was so unexpected and startling to the financial and industrial interests of America that Wall Street was immediately thrown into a condition bordering on panic such as has not been seen since 1907. Thousands of investors and speculators, the latter,

of course, predominating, felt that they must immediately sell their shares in those companies which were profiting directly or indirectly by the war demands of Europe. In the two days following Germany's totally unexpected announcement more than four million shares were sold on the Exchange, and the prices of those securities which had been, during the last three months, in most feverish demand, dropped perpendicularly from ten to twenty dollars per share. These were naturally, in most part, the shares of the concerns which had benefited, or were supposed to have benefited, through direct war orders, with the great steel companies and the copper and zinc mines and paper-manufacturing companies following them closely in weakness.

*A Proof of Our
Financial
Health*

It is true, however, that the whole panicky movement really proved the underlying strength of the financial condition of the country. When one considers the magical increase in earnings of most industrial and mining concerns, in figures which have had no precedent in American industrial history, and the feverish speculation which was quite inevitable, it is most reassuring that so sudden a collapse was endured with no disaster or thought of disaster to any institution, the net result being merely a great deal of excitement, smaller profits to some large speculators, and losses to others of the rash and weaker kind that Wall Street always has with it. It is noticeable, too, that the railroad stocks and other standard securities suffered only negligibly.

*A New Period
of Railroad
Reorganization*

In fact, throughout the days of apparent panic, when the American financial world was feeling the first pangs of the readjustment to be brought by an immense world crisis, it was actually true that the quotations for the new reorganized railroads either advanced or held firm. For, very quietly, during the past year there has been going on a work of financial reconstruction in a number of large railway systems which is entirely comparable in point of volume to the historical Morgan reorganizations of the 90's, and decidedly superior to the operations of that era in quality. A year ago something like one-eighth of the railroad mileage of America was either in the hands of receivers or about to confess insolvency. Since then a quiet but effective and strongly guided work of reor-

ganization has been going on, notably through the house of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., in the affairs of most of the important systems that were in trouble. The Missouri Pacific, the St. Louis and San Francisco, the Wabash, the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific, the Wheeling and Lake Erie, the Western Pacific and the Pere Marquette are instances of roads which from one cause or another, generally from a number of diverse causes, have come to financial trouble. These and others have now been set on their feet through a courageous scaling down of fixed charges, a drastic assessment of security holders to obtain cash for necessary working capital, and firm elimination of weak or unwise operating and financial managers.

*Outlook for the
Railroads*

This process of putting our lame railroads on sound feet again, which, though quiet, has been extensive and thorough, is most fortunately aided by the present industrial activity of America. In many instances this is giving the reconstructed roads more traffic and more current income than was promised by the estimates of the gentlemen who mapped out the reorganizations. The whole work done along these lines should, during the next ten years, decidedly raise the average of the service given by American railroads, both to investors and to the public at large. In the latter part of December there were evidences, too, that the labor problems of the railroads might be settled through direct dealing between the managers and their employees. The outlook for the important specific hope of the railroads for centralized federal regulation, as against the diverse restrictions and prescriptions of forty-eight States, is not so good. It was quite clear that the only hope for effective new railroad legislation this winter—notably for the enlargement and reorganization of the Interstate Commerce Commission—lay in President Wilson's putting his shoulder to the wheel.

*American Roads
Compared with
Europe's*

At this critical point in the development of the American people's relation to their transportation systems, it is worth while to point out some items of comparison of our railroads with other transportation systems of the world given in a recent report of the Bureau of Railway Economics. It appears from this investigation that the freight rates paid the American railroads are now but little more

than 60 per cent. of the average rate on European lines. No country of the world shows such a low freight rate as the United States except India, where the labor cost is so strikingly small as compared with any other country as to change the whole problem of comparison. The average ton mile rate in our country is .729 cent; in India, .7 cent; France, 1.18 cents, and Germany, 1.24 cents. In the newer countries of magnificent distances and small density, the average rate per ton mile runs up as high as 7.04 cents in Brazil. Our railroads have overcome the handicap of extremely long hauls by operating and engineering boldness and ingenuity, chiefly exemplified by the larger capacity of freight cars and the greater power of locomotives. Our freight car carries much over twice the volume of the European car. Our average freight train hauled in 1913 435.4 tons, the average German train hauled 239 tons and the French train 147 tons.

*Wages and
Earnings
Compared*

The Bureau finds that railroad employees in the United States receive nearly double the wages paid by the leading European countries. Here the average compensation is \$756.83 per year; in Germany \$408.97; in Holland \$341.52; and in Russia \$211.40. Earnings as well as rates are found to be low in America as compared with other countries of the world. Three years ago the railroads of the United States earned on the average \$12,859 per mile; in Great Britain and Germany the earnings per mile were more than twice as great. European countries have issued vastly more stock and bonds per mile of road than America. Great Britain's roads are capitalized at \$274,027 per mile, those of France at \$150,439, German roads at \$120,049, and those of the United States at only \$65,861.

*Low Freight
Rates*

These few figures selected from the Bureau's report make a very impressive showing for the operating results of our railways and their service to the public. But any close observer of the remarkable industrial conditions in America during the past two years will be apt to question seriously whether the triumph of so low a freight rate as compared with other countries is really a triumph at all, for our railways have not been able to attend to the business that was offered to them during the last eighteen months. The em-

bargoes, the delays, the uncertainties of transportation in this country during this wonderful manufacturing harvest season have caused losses and unsettlements of industry, and have often prevented business from being done which ought to be done, to a degree amounting to frightful wastage. The roads had not enough cars and other equipment. The fundamental reason why they had not enough was that three or four years ago their operating income was insufficient to make them at all secure for the future, and they were afraid to incur debts to buy cars when railroad credit was at so low an ebb that money could be obtained only on apparently ruinous terms. Now they are frantically buying cars and paying inordinate prices for them compared to the cost in 1913 or before; and even to-day, when the revenues of the railroads have reflected so handsomely the extraordinary industrial activity and prosperity of the country, we find a steel manufacturing concern which only a few years ago was considered a fly-by-night experiment able to borrow money from the public for ambitious projected developments at a rate of 4.87 per cent.; a great transcontinental line selling mortgage bonds in a quantity not half the actual cash expenditure on the property must, on the other hand, even in these days of comparatively bright revenue prospects for the railroads, pay the public investor on its first mortgage securities 5.55 per cent.

*Income Tax
Receipts 50 Per
Cent. Greater*

The effect of the great prosperity of America on the individual incomes of persons and corporations is strikingly shown in the figures of income-tax receipts for the fiscal year of 1916, made public in the latter part of November by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. There is a jump from 1915 in collections from individuals of no less than \$27,000,000, in round figures, over the \$41,000,000 received in the earlier year. An even greater rate of increase is given in the payments from corporations which last year contributed \$57,000,000 toward the national expenses as compared with \$39,000,000 in 1915. Three hundred and thirty-six thousand six hundred and fifty-two persons paid an income tax last year, and more than one-third of these were assessed on net incomes of between \$5,000 and \$10,000 a year. Net incomes of \$1,000,000 or more were reported by 120 persons. Two hundred and nine individuals paid tax on incomes from \$500,-

000 to \$1,000,000, and 1793 showed incomes from \$100,000 to \$150,000. Of the 120 people in the United States who had incomes of more than \$1,000,000, 74 lived in New York State, and of the total internal collections of all kinds amounting to more than half a billion dollars, New York paid a fifth.

There are current phases of the "Preparedness" large question of American national defense now under discussion at Washington that can be presented more maturely a month or two hence than now. Congress resumes its sittings after the brief holiday recess, on the day following New Year's. Military and naval committees working on annual appropriation bills must inevitably discuss all the problems of our army and our navy. The invasion of Mexico under General Pershing has not only irritated the Mexicans and prevented the restoration of order in northern Mexico, but it has evidently helped to make the country understand that the volunteer method of recruiting our regular army is a hopeless failure. The mobilization of the National Guard was worse than a failure; it was a black tragedy. The federalized National Guard is doomed. The Chief of Staff, General Scott, and Major-General Wood have not hesitated to speak the truth before a sub-committee of the House. Almost the only hopeful sign in the chaotic ineffectiveness at Washington in regard to military questions, and to the whole subject of national preparation, is the Council of National Defense which is trying to map out the general resources of the country. All the foreign governments are arriving at the simple solution—that which holds the entire nation, in its personnel and its material resources, to equal participation in the protection of the country.

*The War
Will Be Pushed*

An almost universal opinion prevailed, after Mr. Lloyd George had made his speech on the 19th of December, that the great war would have to go on for some time longer. Russia and France had spoken in stirring terms against accepting Germany's proposal to negotiate. The Vatican had let it be known that the Pope would not attempt anything until both sides were desirous of his services. President Wilson, after full cabinet discussion, saw no opportunity to offer neutral aid towards adjustment and peace. Lloyd

George's notable effort was even more important, on the side of its demonstration of increasing British efficiency for war purposes, than upon that of destructive analysis of Germany's proposals. It was, indeed, at once intimated that Germany would soon come forward with another note, laying down definite offers and making large concessions; but there seemed no basis of reconciliation in sight. Canada and other parts of the British Empire were as emphatic for fighting the war to an issue as Lloyd George himself.

*What Next in
the Struggle?*

Mr. Simonds, in his contribution to this month's issue of the REVIEW, suggests some possibilities as regards the winter and spring campaigns. Mr. Lloyd George announced the determination of the Allies to accept the representatives of Venizelos and his revolutionary Greek Government, and to use summary means without delay and regardless of technical neutral rights in establishing the power of the Allies in Greece, in order to aid Serbia and coöperate with Russia and the remnant of Rumania in the further attempt to defeat Bulgaria and cut Turkey off from her Teutonic partners. Very likely the German answer will be a swift offensive against General Sarrail and his Allied army which has its base at Salonica. Russia henceforth is fighting for the prize of Constantinople; and Turkey is aroused to-day—by this proposal to banish her across the Bosphorus—as at no earlier moment in the war. Instead of peace, therefore, it looks to keen observers as if the most colossal struggles of the entire conflict were to take place within the present year 1917.

*Sale of the
Danish Islands*

Denmark decided by popular vote, on December 14, that she would sell the West India islands of St. Thomas, St. Croix, and St. John to the United States. The votes in favor of the project numbered about 283,000; those against, 157,000. This was not a snap judgment on the part of the Danish people. Months had been given to a consideration of the matter. A commission had held extended hearings at which former governors of the islands, scientific experts, and well-informed business men had discussed the reasons for and against Denmark's retention of these far-distant possessions. In the end the commission was convinced that it was to Denmark's advantage to carry out

the terms of the treaty with the United States. The opinions of the commissioners undoubtedly had great weight with the electorate. It only remains to the Rigsdag to complete details. As a result of this action on the part of Denmark, that little country will receive \$25,000,000 and the United States will come into possession of the best harbor in the Caribbean (St. Thomas), which is greatly needed by our navy. The American Senate had ratified the treaty of sale on September 7 last.

*Porto Rico
and Sugar*

One of the few measures urgently brought to the attention of Congress by President Wilson in his annual address was the bill to amend the organic law of Porto Rico, already passed by the House and awaiting action in the Senate. This would grant United States citizenship to Porto Ricans and would give them a Senate elected by the people in place of the one they now have, the members of which are appointed by the President. Governor Yager's annual report makes an excellent showing for the progress and prosperity of the island, which he says has completely recovered from the economic depression of the past three years. The chief factor in this change is the revival of the sugar industry. We alluded in these pages last month to the stimulus that has been given to Cuban trade by the high price of sugar. So flourishing is every form of industry in Cuba that the fraud charges in connection with the recent election led to no serious disorder. The people had no time for political distractions.

*Disorder in
Santo
Domingo*

The Government at Washington has lately had occasion to take account of some of the advantages that might ensue to certain other small republics from an arrangement with the United States like that which the "Platt Amendment" established between this country and Cuba after the war with Spain. In order to enable the Republic of Santo Domingo to pay interest on its foreign debt, American marines were ordered, last month, to set up a military government. There was no interference with the civil authorities, but our Government employed force to maintain order and prevent a recurrence of revolution and anarchy. For nearly twelve years the customs receipts of Santo Domingo have been collected by an American Receiver-General of Customs and disbursed in accordance with

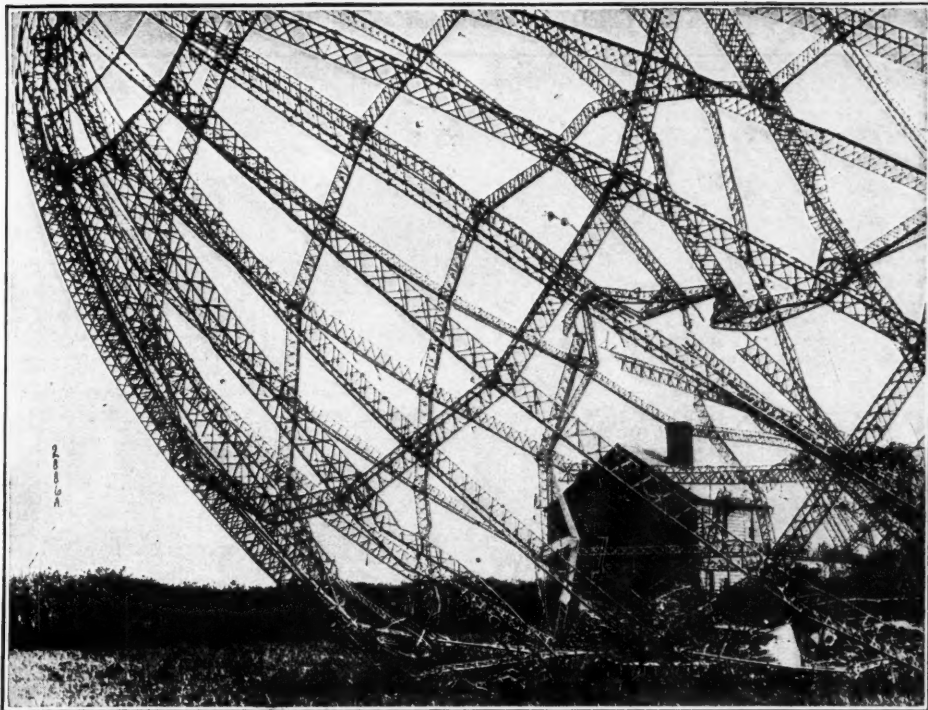
an agreement between this country and Santo Domingo. Part of the collection goes to pay interest on the foreign debt and the remainder goes to the Dominican Government for its own use.

*The
Mexican
Situation*

Late in November the Mexican-American Commissioners signed a protocol which provided for the withdrawal of the Pershing expedition and for cooperation between the United States and Mexican troops in the protection of the frontier from bandits. The United States reserved the right to send troops into Mexico in pursuit of raiders. For weeks Carranza deferred signing this protocol, while his control of Northern Mexico became less and less secure. Villa continued his raids, the most noteworthy being that on the city of Chihuahua, which he looted and left to its fate, as he had a half-dozen other towns of less importance. The Washington Administration must have begun to wonder just what Carranza's authority amounted to and how far his influence extended. Suppose the protocol goes into force: Will the United States have any effective help in suppressing or punishing bandits along the border?

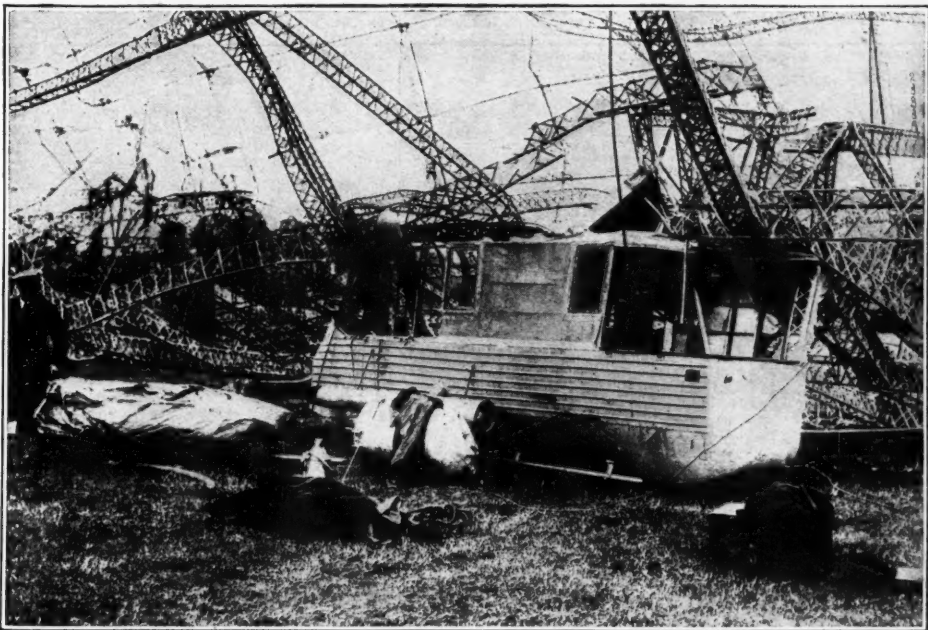
*The "Wets"
and
the "Drys"*

We commented in these pages last month on the noteworthy advance made by the Statewide prohibition movement, as shown in the November election returns. The fact that half the Union is now "dry" has evidently impressed Congress, for a bill to prohibit the manufacture and sale of liquors in the District of Columbia has been favorably reported in the Senate and it is generally admitted that the measure would be assured a majority in the House. In fact, the passage of the Hobson bill to amend the Federal Constitution, in 1914, indicates the attitude of that body. It is understood, however, that the amendment will not be pressed in this Congress; but the passage of the District of Columbia bill would be a distinct gain for the forces of Federal prohibition, and would be so interpreted by all parties. Governor Whitman, of New York, is one of the political leaders who have "lined up" for the prohibition principle. Anti-saloon workers met with a decisive, though purely local, setback last month in the "wet" vote of the city of Boston—the largest plurality received by the saloon during many years of campaigning in New England's metropolis.



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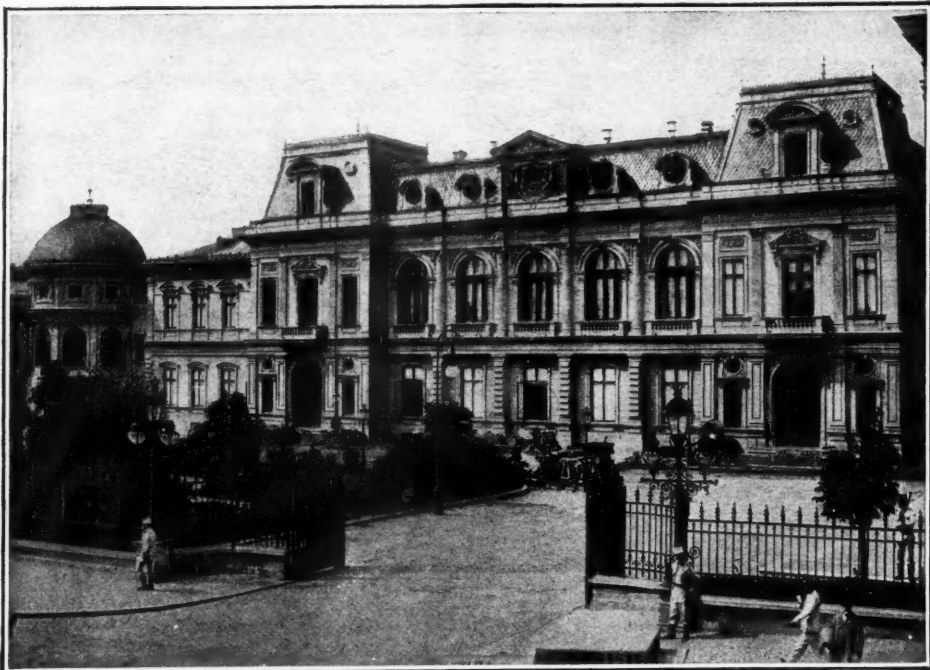
PORTION OF THE FRAMEWORK OF A WRECKED ZEPPELIN



© International Film Service

ONE OF THE "GONDOLAS," OR CARS, OF THE WRECKED ZEPPELIN

(The *London Sphere*, in its issue for December 9, 1916, makes an interesting calculation of the number of German airships destroyed in the course of the war. According to the figures given, seven were brought down in 1914, sixteen in 1915, and fourteen in 1916, a total of thirty-seven, all but eight of which were Zeppelins. Seven of the Zeppelins were destroyed in raids on England in the past year, five falling within England and two off the coast.)



Photograph from Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

THE ROYAL PALACE AT BUCHAREST

(Now in possession of the Germans, and reported occupied as the headquarters of General Mackensen)



Photograph from Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

RUMANIAN SOLDIERS IN THE TRENCHES DURING THEIR DISASTROUS CAMPAIGN

(One of the first photographs to be received in this country from the scene of the fighting in Rumania)

RECORD OF EVENTS IN THE WAR

(From November 21 to December 30, 1916)

The Last Part of November

November 21.—Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, dies at Vienna, at the age of 86 and in the sixty-eighth year of his reign; he is succeeded by his grand-nephew, Charles Francis Joseph.

Gottlieb von Jagow resigns the office of Minister of Foreign Affairs in Germany; he will be succeeded by Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, Under-Secretary.

The German merchant submarine *Deutschland* starts from New London, Conn., on her second return voyage to Germany, with a cargo of crude rubber, copper, zinc, silver, and gold valued at \$2,000,000.

It is officially announced that a recent explosion in the harbor of Bakaritz, near Archangel, killed 341 persons and injured 667 others.

November 22.—The White Star liner *Britannic*, the largest British steamship (valued at \$10,000,000), is sunk by a mine in the Egean Sea while serving as a hospital ship; no wounded are on board, but 50 lives are lost among the crew and hospital staff.

November 23.—Emperor Charles I, upon his accession to the throne of Austria and Hungary, proclaims his intention to continue the war until "a peace assuring the existence and development of the monarchy is obtained."

The Greek Government refuses the demands of the commander of the Allied fleet to surrender thirty-four batteries of field and mountain artillery and 40,000 rifles, with ammunition.

Russia officially announces that on October 20 the dreadnought *Imperatritsa Maria* sank in the Baltic Sea, after an explosion caused by fire; 200 lives are lost.

November 24.—Boris V. Stürmer, Premier of Russia, resigns and is succeeded by Alexander Trepoff, recently Minister of Railways; the change is declared to be a victory for the Duma.

Teutonic troops recapture Orsova, the strategic Hungarian city at the Iron Gates of the Danube.

Six German destroyers bombard the British town of Ramsgate, north of Dover.

November 25.—M. Neratov, Assistant Minister, becomes Minister of Foreign Affairs in Russia.

November 27.—The Federal Reserve Board of the United States warns American banks and investors to proceed with caution in the matter of loans to belligerent nations; the total loans to date amount to \$1,795,000,000.

It is reported from Constantinople that Arab forces have defeated Italians in Tripoli and that Turkish administration has been completely re-established except in the coast towns.

November 27-28.—German Zeppelin airships make a night raid over the northern counties of England; two of the airships are destroyed by British aeroplanes.

November 28.—The Rumanian Government and diplomatic corps are removed from Bucharest to Jassy, 200 miles to the northeast; the German, Austrian, Bulgarian, and Turkish armies reach Curtea de Arges, 80 miles northwest of Bucharest, and Giurgiu, 40 miles southwest.

The American steamship *Chemung*, carrying contraband, is sunk by a submarine (believed to be Austrian) off the coast of Spain; the submarine tows the crew in lifeboats to within sight of the coast.

It is announced at Berlin that inhabitants of the French city of Lille removed to Germany are being transferred back, as promised them at the time of their removal.

November 29.—The Teutonic armies draw nearer to Bucharest; from the northwest they capture Pitesti, and in the south they take Giurgiu on the Rumanian side of the Danube.

Admiral Sir John Jellicoe, Commander of the British fleet, becomes First Lord of the Admiralty (succeeding Admiral Jackson), and Vice-Admiral Sir David Beatty becomes Commander of the Fleet; the changes were made to bring an active fleet commander into cabinet councils.

The Government of the United States protests to Germany against the deportation of Belgians for forced labor in Germany, in contravention of precedents and humane principles.

Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg declares in the German Reichstag that Germany is "ready to end the war by a peace guaranteeing our existence and future. . . . But our enemies do not yet desire peace."

November 30.—General Groener, chief of the newly created War Office in Germany, explains to the Reichstag the Compulsory Civil Service measure, which will organize and place under Government direction all able-bodied men and women not already in military service.

The First Part of December

December 1.—Greek Royalists loyal to King Constantine fire upon French marines in Athens; British and Italian sailors are landed from the Allied fleet to assist the French.

The German Government, in a communication handed to the State Department at Washington, admits that a German submarine sank the British steamer *Marina*, resulting in the death of six Americans, but maintains that the vessel was an armed transport.

Great Britain and France withdraw their proposal to sell treasury notes in the United States through New York bankers, following criticism by the Federal Reserve Board.

December 2.—Premier Trepoff informs the Russian Duma that the Entente Powers have agreed that Russia shall have Constantinople and the Dardanelles.

The Greek Government protests to the United

States against the infringement of its sovereign rights by the Entente Powers.

The German Reichstag, by a vote of 235 to 19, adopts the Compulsory Civil Service bill.

Official German statistics place the total number of war prisoners in Germany (on August 1, 1916) at 1,663,794; 29,297 prisoners had died in two years from wounds, tuberculosis, spotted fever, and other illnesses.

December 4.—With regard to the sinking of the *Arabia*, on November 6, Germany informs the United States that the submarine commander believed the steamer was a troop transport and therefore attacked without warning; should the American Government show that the commander was in error, it would then be a case of regrettable mistake.

The Italian steamer *Palermo*, from New York to Italian ports, with twenty-five Americans on board, is torpedoed off the Spanish coast.

December 5.—Herbert Henry Asquith (Liberal), Premier of Great Britain since 1908, resigns, following differences in his coalition cabinet on the question of the size of the new War Council; the Premiership is offered to Andrew Bonar Law, the Unionist leader.

The British Board of Trade prohibits the serving in public places of meals exceeding three courses in the evening and two courses at any other time.

Premier Boselli of Italy, addressing the Chamber of Deputies on the progress of the war, declares that Italy will continue with her allies until Belgium, Serbia, and Montenegro are restored.

December 6.—Mr. Bonar Law being unable to form an administration, the British Premiership is offered by the King to David Lloyd George (Liberal).

German armies under Field-Marshal von Mackensen occupy Bucharest, the Rumanian capital, on the one hundredth day after Rumania entered the war; it is estimated that the Teutonic armies have occupied 50,000 square miles of Rumanian territory, including vast wheat and oil regions.

December 7.—The French Chamber of Deputies, by vote of 344 to 160, expresses confidence in the Government in its conduct of the war.

The Second Week of December

December 8.—The French battleship *Suffren*, missing since November 24, is considered lost with her crew of 700.

December 9.—With regard to the sinking of the *Lanao*, on October 28, Germany informs the United States that the vessel had passed from Philippine registry to British and was therefore legally sunk.

Germany explains to the United States that the British steamer *Seebeck* (sunk on October 12 in the Mediterranean, with an American on board) was proceeding without lights in the vicinity of a hostile naval port and appeared to the submarine commander to be a warship.

The Greek Government refers to the disturbances in Athens on December 1-2 as "the repression of the Venizélos insurrection," and states that twenty-seven persons were killed; British reports allege that Entente troops were attacked

with the aid and connivance of the Greek Government.

December 10.—The personnel of the new Lloyd George cabinet is announced, comprising twelve Liberals, five Unionists, and three Laborites; a War Council of five members is created (see page 8).

The German commercial submarine *Deutschland* arrives at a German port, completing her second return voyage from the United States in nineteen days.

An official German statement declares that the British steamer *Caledonia*, sunk in the Mediterranean on December 4, tried first to ram the German submarine.

December 12.—Germany and her allies offer to enter into peace negotiations; Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg announces to the Reichstag that identic notes have been handed to the representatives of the United States, Spain, and Switzerland, for submission to hostile countries.

The French Premier, Aristide Briand, reconstructs his cabinet and creates a War Council of five members; Gen. Robert Georges Nivelle is chosen to supreme command of the French armies in France, while General Joffre will become president of the Allied Military Council (see page 10).

The French commander of the Allied squadron in Greek waters, Vice-Admiral du Fournet, is replaced by Admiral Gaucher.

December 13.—Premier Briand warns the French Chamber of Deputies that the German peace offer is "poison," a maneuver to cause dissension among the Allies.

The Austrian ministry under Dr. von Koerber resigns, having been in office only six weeks; Alexander Spitzmueller is intrusted with the formation of a cabinet.

German reports declare that Greek troops have attacked Entente forces and taken the town of Katerina, southwest of Salonica.

Archduke Charles Stephen of Austria (a cousin of the late Emperor) is selected to be Regent of Poland, with the prospect of election as King.

An insurrection breaks out in different parts of Portugal, but is everywhere put down by Government troops.

The French Government decides to ask power from the Chamber of Deputies to suppress the consumption of alcohol.

December 14.—In the British House of Commons the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Bonar Law, asks and receives by unanimous vote a war credit of \$2,000,000,000, to carry the Government until February 24; the grand total of war credits is \$17,660,000,000.

Great Britain makes provision for an additional one million men for army service, the original estimate being four millions.

A German official report states that all of Great Wallachia (Rumania) south of the railroad from Bucharest to Cernavoda has been occupied.

The Italian minister of the Treasury informs the Chamber of Deputies that the war cost Italy \$652,400,000 between June 30, 1915, and November 30, 1916.

The British horse transport *Russian* is sunk in the Mediterranean by a submarine, seventeen American muleteers losing their lives.

The Third Week of December

December 15.—The Russian Duma unanimously favors "a categorical refusal by the Allied Governments to enter under present conditions into any peace negotiations whatever."

By a sudden stroke at Verdun—preceded, however, by three days of artillery attack—French recapture two miles of territory on a front of seven miles, taking 11,000 prisoners.

At the expiration of a twenty-four-hour ultimatum to the Greek Government, the demands of the Entente Powers are agreed to; all Greek troops are to be withdrawn from Thessaly, as neither the King nor the Government has sufficient authority to prevent their becoming "a menace to the peace and security of the Allied armies."

December 18.—Official German estimates place the captured in Rumania at 120,000 men and 3,000 cannon since the Teutonic offensive began.

December 19.—David Lloyd George makes his formal statement as new British Premier, and answers the German peace proposal; he declares that peace in Europe cannot be obtained and maintained until Germany is prepared to accede to the Allies' original terms—complete restitution, full reparation, and effectual guarantees.

The Russian Council of the Empire expresses its disapproval of the German plan to enter into peace proposals.

Germany states that the American steamship *Columbian* was sunk (on November 6) because of assistance given to the enemy by wireless.

RECORD OF OTHER EVENTS

(From November 21 to December 20, 1916)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

December 4.—The Sixty-fourth Congress re-assembles for the short session. . . . In the House, eleven bills and resolutions are introduced relating to the increased cost of living.

December 5.—Both branches assemble in the House chamber and are addressed by President Wilson "on the state of the Union"; he lays stress upon his unfinished program of railroad legislation.

December 12.—The Senate discusses and amends the Immigration bill, which passed the House at the last session.

December 13.—In the House, Democratic leaders after conference decide to pass a \$30,000,000 public-buildings measure.

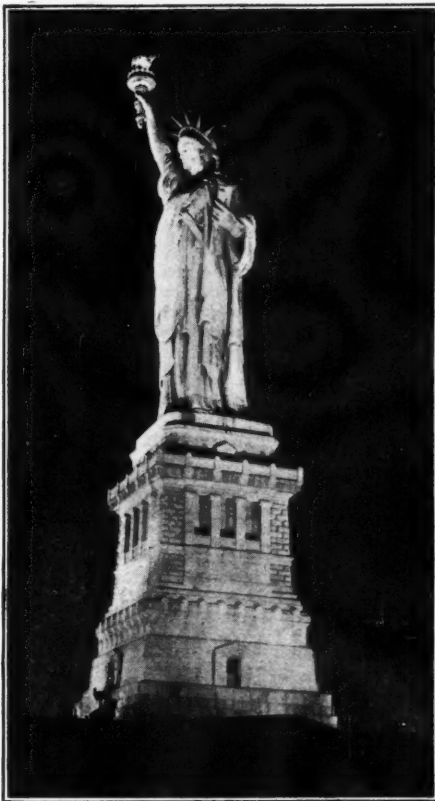
December 14.—The Senate, by vote of 64 to 7, passes the Immigration bill, carrying a literacy test and an amendment designed to meet Japanese criticisms; Mr. Saulsbury (Dem., Del.) is chosen president *pro tempore*, succeeding the late Mr. Clarke (Ark.). . . . The House Committee on Judiciary recommends the submission of a constitutional amendment prohibiting the manufacture and sale of liquor in the United States, and also reports without comment a woman-suffrage amendment to the Federal Constitution.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 22.—To expedite a decision by the United States Supreme Court, Federal Judge Hook, at Kansas City, declares the Railroad Eight-Hour Law unconstitutional.

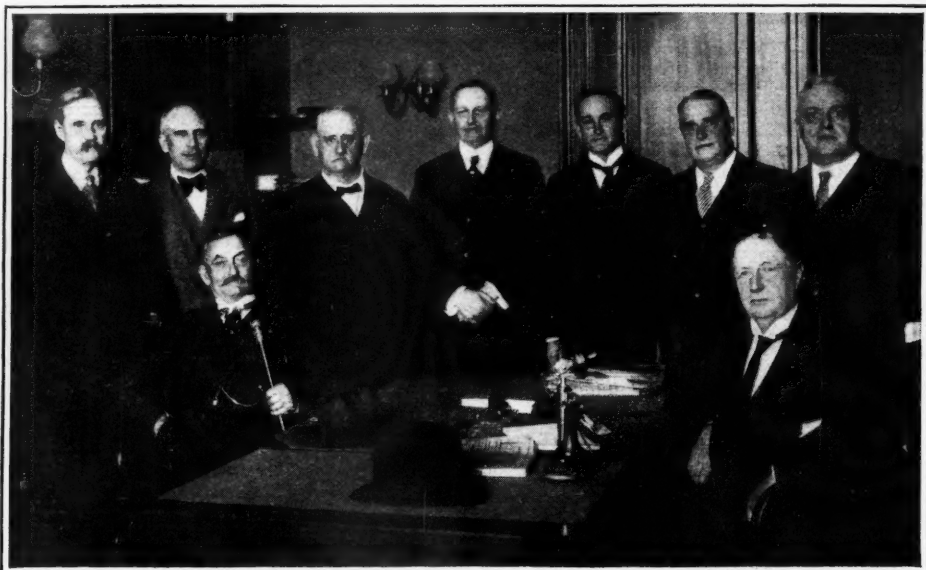
November 23.—The first witness before the Newlands Congressional Committee investigating railroad questions, Mr. A. P. Thom, sets forth the needs of the railroads and makes a plea for centralized regulation.

November 26.—The report of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue shows total receipts of \$512,723,267, an increase of \$97,042,263; the individual income tax furnishes \$67,943,294, an increase of more than 50 per cent.



THE STATUE OF LIBERTY AS NOW ILLUMINATED AT NIGHT

(The light is thrown on the statue from powerful electric lamps at the base. The money to install the system was contributed by 50,000 persons, through the *New York World*. The Government will maintain it. This gift of the French people, made thirty years ago, now stands out boldly at night in New York harbor)



THE NEWLANDS-ADAMSON JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMISSION INVESTIGATING FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF RAILROAD OWNERSHIP AND REGULATION

(The Commission held hearings at Washington from November 20 to December 9, when it decided to ask Congress for further time. The investigation was authorized before the railroad wage question had come before Congress. The Commission was given wide powers, but instructed to report by January 9 of the present year. Senator Newlands, the chairman, is seated at the right of the picture, and Congressman Adamson at the left. Those standing are, from left to right: Senator Cummins of Iowa, Congressman Hamilton of Michigan, Congressman Sims of Tennessee, Senator Underwood of Alabama, Senator Robinson of Arkansas, Senator Brandegee of Connecticut, and Congressman Esch of Wisconsin.)

November 27.—The Federal Reserve Board warns American investors and Federal Reserve banks to proceed with caution in participating in foreign war loans and foreign treasury bills.

November 30.—The Clerk of the House of Representatives (a Democrat) declares that the newly elected Congress—which will assemble in December, 1917—will have 215 Democrats, 214 Republicans, and 4 independents, 2 seats remaining doubtful.

December 1.—A nation-wide inquiry into the high price of food is begun by the United States Department of Justice.

December 2.—The Federal Trade Commission recommends to Congress changes in the anti-trust laws which would permit American exporters to enter combinations and thereby be on more nearly equal terms with foreign competitors.

December 4.—Henry van Dyke, Minister to the Netherlands, and Thaddeus A. Thompson, Minister to Colombia, resign their offices; John W. Garrett will succeed Mr. van Dyke.

December 6.—Secretary McAdoo, in his annual report on the Treasury Department, declares that the stock of gold in the United States on November 1 (\$2,700,136,976) was the largest any country ever had; he estimates that Government finances will show a deficit of \$185,000,000 in 1918, because of expenditures for preparedness.

December 9.—The Newlands joint Congressional committee ends its hearings on railroad

problems, and prepares to ask Congress to extend its time from January 8, 1917.

December 18.—Major-General Scott, Chief of the General Staff, informs the Senate committee on military affairs that the War College and the General Staff believe that the United States army should be able to furnish 1,500,000 trained and organized troops at the outbreak of war, and 1,500,000 additional within ninety days (three times their previous estimates); Major-General Wood characterizes the mobilization of the National Guard on the Mexican border as a "tragedy."

AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH MEXICO

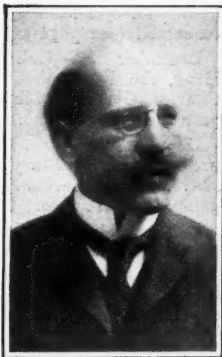
November 21.—The three Mexican commissioners receive a new—and, it is reported, final—proposal from the American commissioners, which is known to have been approved by President Wilson.

November 24.—A protocol is signed by the Mexican and American commissioners, at Atlantic City, N. J., and is submitted to Carranza; it provides for the withdrawal of the Pershing expedition from Mexico within forty days after ratification, and for border protection by the armies of the United States and Mexico, acting independently until coöperation is necessary.

November 27.—After four days of attack, insurrectionist forces under direct command of



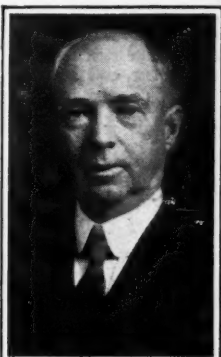
JACK LONDON



HUGO MÜNSTERBERG



FIELD-MARSHAL OYAMA

© Pach Brothers
JOHN D. ARCHBOLD

FOUR NOTABLE MEN WHOSE NAMES APPEAR IN THE MONTH'S OBITUARY LIST

(Jack London had achieved a well-deserved reputation as a writer of adventurous fiction, and was identified with the economic propaganda of the Socialists. Hugo Münsterberg had already gained youthful fame as a philosopher in the German universities when Harvard called him, years ago. His aim was to interpret Germany and America to each other. Prince Oyama was one of those great Japanese commanders whose fame became permanent through leadership in the war with Russia. Mr. John D. Archbold was president of the Standard Oil Company, a man of fine and modest personality, greatly esteemed by those who knew him)

General Villa occupy Chihuahua City, compelling General Trevino and his Carranza troops to withdraw.

December 2.—Carranza troops reoccupy the city of Chihuahua after receiving reinforcements and defeating Villa's force as it was advancing northward. . . . Venustiano Carranza addresses the Mexican Constitutional Congress at its first session at Queretaro, outlining the reforms he hopes to see adopted.

December 18.—The Mexican members of the Joint Commission inform the Americans that General Carranza has refused to ratify the protocol—objecting to a supplemental statement of American intentions regarding border patrol, and wishing to submit a counter statement. . . . The War Department, in ordering the return of some regiments of the National Guard, indicates that the border force will be reduced to 75,000 men, in addition to the 12,000 regulars in Mexico.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

November 29.—The commander of the American forces in Santo Domingo (numbering 1800) establishes a state of martial law throughout the Republic, in order to continue payment of interest on the foreign debt.

December 14.—The people of Denmark vote by a large majority to sell the Kingdom's three West Indian Islands to the United States for \$25,000,000. . . . Edmund Schulthess (head of the department of Public Economy) is elected President of the Swiss Confederation.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

November 28.—President George E. Vincent, of the University of Minnesota, is chosen to succeed Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., as president of the Rockefeller Foundation.

December 4.—Pope Benedict creates ten new cardinals—seven Italian and three French.

December 11.—The United States transport *Sumner* runs aground on Barnegat Reefs, N. J., and is abandoned.

December 13.—More than 50,000 workers on men's and children's clothing in New York City go on strike for shorter hours and wage increase.

December 15.—The Department of Agriculture's final crop estimates place the value at the record figure of \$7,641,609,000, through higher prices, although the yield was small.

OBITUARY

November 21.—Alpheus W. Wilson, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, 82. . . . Dr. Eugene Louis Doyen, a noted French surgeon, 57. . . . Louisa Parsons, of Baltimore, a widely known nurse. . . . Chester A. Congdon, a prominent Minnesota lawyer and politician, 64.

November 22.—Jack London, the author, 40. . . . Sir George White, who introduced electric street traction in English cities, 62.

November 23.—Rt. Hon. Charles Booth, prominent British ship-owner and student of the condition of workmen, 75.

November 24.—Sir Hiram Maxim, inventor of an automatic rapid-fire gun in wide use, 76. . . . William Henry Jacques, an American authority on armor plate and ordnance, 67.

November 25.—Mrs. Inez Milholland Boissevain, the noted welfare worker and suffragist, 30.

November 27.—Emile Verhaeren, the Belgian poet, 61.

November 28.—Patrick Henry Morrissey, former head of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen, 54.

November 29.—Martinus T. Steyn, President of the Orange Free State from 1896 to 1900, 59.

December 2.—Charles Pomeroy Parker, professor of Greek and Latin at Harvard, 64. . . . Sir Francesco Paolo Tosti, a French composer and song-writer, 70.

December 3.—W. W. Scranton, of Pennsylvania, pioneer Bessemer steel maker, 72.

December 4.—Preston Lea, former Governor of Delaware, 75.

December 5.—John D. Archbold, president of the Standard Oil Co., 68. . . . George Charles Boldt, the widely known hotel proprietor of New York and Philadelphia, 65.

December 6.—Hans Richter, the noted German conductor, 73.

December 8.—Samuel J. Tribble, Representative in Congress from Georgia, 47. . . . Rear-Adm. John Porter Merrell, U.S.N., retired, 70. . . . Jermain Riesco, former President of the republic of Chile, 61.

December 9.—Very Rev. William Mercer Grosvenor, Dean of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, in New York City, 53. . . . Prof. Theodore Armand Ribot, the French philosopher, 77.

December 10.—Field-Marshal Prince Iwao Oyama, commander-in-chief of Japan's Manchurian army during the war with Russia, 74. . . .

Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, the eminent French economist (see page 82).

December 12.—Col. Ole Herman Johannes Krag, the Norwegian rifle inventor, 79. . . . Charles Clarence Linthicum, a widely known patent lawyer of Chicago, 59.

December 14.—Rev. Dr. Charles W. Gallagher, president of the Maryland College for Women, 70. . . . Jean Marius Antonin Mercie, the French painter and sculptor, 71.

December 15.—William C. Nixon, president of the St. Louis & San Francisco Railroad, 58.

December 16.—Hugo Münsterberg, the distinguished German psychologist, for twenty-four years a member of Harvard University faculty, 53. . . . George H. Pownall, president of the British Institute of Bankers, 67.

December 19.—Dr. James Monroe Taylor, president emeritus of Vassar College, 68.

POPULAR AND ELECTORAL VOTE FOR PRESIDENT, 1916

STATE	POPULAR VOTE							ELECTORAL VOTE	
	Wilson, Dem.	Hughes, Rep.	Benson, Soc.	Hanly, Proh.	Rulmer Soc. Lab.	Seattering	Pluralities		Wilson, Dem.
							Wilson, Dem.	Hughes, Rep.	
Alabama	99,116	28,809	1,916	991	...	...	70,307	...	12
Arizona	33,170	20,524	3,174	1,153	...	2	12,646	...	3
Arkansas	112,186	47,148	6,999	2,015	...	...	65,038	...	9
California	466,200	462,394	...	...	...	...	3,806	...	13
Colorado	178,816	102,308	10,049	2,703	...	409	76,508	...	6
Connecticut	99,786	106,514	5,179	1,789	606	...	6,728	...	7
Delaware	24,753	26,011	480	566	...	...	1,258	...	3
Florida	55,984	14,611	7,814	4,855	...	...	41,373	...	6
Georgia	109,200	28,000	...	...	...	...	81,200	...	14
Idaho	68,000	64,500	...	...	...	...	13,500	...	4
Illinois	950,229	1,152,549	61,394	26,047	1,739	...	202,320	...	29
Indiana	334,063	341,005	21,855	16,368	1,659	...	6,942	...	15
Iowa	221,699	280,449	10,976	3,371	459	1,804	58,750	...	13
Kansas	314,588	277,658	24,685	12,882	...	...	36,930	...	10
Kentucky	260,990	241,854	4,734	3,036	333	129	28,136	...	13
Louisiana	79,875	6,465	292	595	...	...	73,409	...	10
Maine	64,118	50,506	2,186	695	...	...	13,612	...	8
Maryland	138,359	117,347	2,674	2,903	756	...	21,012	...	8
Massachusetts	247,885	268,784	11,058	2,993	1,097	6	20,899	...	18
Michigan	286,775	339,097	16,120	8,139	842	...	52,322	...	15
Minnesota	179,157	179,553	20,117	7,793	468	290	396	...	12
Mississippi	80,382	4,253	1,484	...	...	520	76,129	...	10
Missouri	398,032	369,339	14,612	3,884	902	3	28,693	...	18
Montana	101,063	66,750	...	...	...	...	34,313	...	4
Nebraska	158,827	117,771	7,141	2,952	...	...	41,056	...	8
Nevada	17,776	12,127	3,065	340	...	...	5,649	...	3
New Hampshire	43,780	43,724	1,319	296	...	...	56	...	4
New Jersey	211,018	268,982	10,405	3,182	853	...	57,964	...	14
New Mexico	32,077	29,951	...	...	...	...	2,126	...	3
New York	766,889	875,416	46,102	...	...	...	118,527	...	45
North Carolina	168,383	120,890	490	51	...	...	47,493	...	12
North Dakota	55,206	53,651	5,716	997	...	...	1,555	...	5
Ohio	604,161	514,753	38,092	8,080	...	...	89,408	...	24
Oklahoma	148,113	97,233	45,190	1,646	...	234	50,880	...	10
Oregon	120,087	126,813	9,711	4,729	...	310	6,726	...	5
Pennsylvania	521,784	703,734	42,637	28,525	...	...	181,950	...	38
Rhode Island	40,394	43,858	1,914	470	180	...	3,464	...	5
South Carolina	68,000	1,500	...	...	...	...	66,500	...	9
South Dakota	59,191	64,217	3,760	1,774	...	...	5,026	...	5
Tennessee	153,344	116,114	2,542	147	...	...	37,230	...	12
Texas	228,000	58,000	...	...	...	...	170,000	...	20
Utah	84,145	54,137	4,460	149	144	8	30,008	...	4
Vermont	22,708	40,250	798	709	...	10	17,542	...	4
Virginia	102,824	49,356	1,062	883	67	...	53,468	...	12
Washington	197,000	183,000	...	...	...	...	14,000	...	7
West Virginia	140,403	143,124	6,150	(off)	(off)	...	2,721	...	8
Wisconsin	193,042	221,323	27,846	7,166	...	25	28,281	...	13
Wyoming	28,316	21,698	1,453	373	...	...	6,618	...	3
Totals	9,068,894	8,568,051	487,651	164,642	10,105	3,750			276 255

Total vote 18,303,093; Wilson's plurality 500,843. Wilson's vote was 82,653 less than a majority.

This table has been compiled in the editorial offices of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, by direct communication with the officials of each of the forty-eight States. It is as nearly accurate as it could be made near the end of December. The figures for New York are final, except as to the minor parties. For other States marked with a star, the figures are unofficial but approximately correct.

CARTOONS ON PEACE AND WAR



"NOT IN THAT COSTUME"
From the *World* (New York)

THE peace proposal of Germany was the big subject for the cartoonists last month, and they made the most of it. The various phases of peace from the German and the Allies' sides, as well as the view-

point of humanity in general, were duly presented. The New York *World* cartoon on this page is typical of those representing the attitude of the Allies toward the German Chancellor's message. France and Eng-



CABINET AND PEOPLE IN STEP IN RUSSIA
From the *Evening News* (Newark)

land see the German peace angel in too militant a guise and therefore decline as yet to commit themselves.

Aside from the notable official utterance of Premier Lloyd George, of England, emphatic expressions of opinion on the subject of a possible peace under present conditions have come from both France and Russia, as



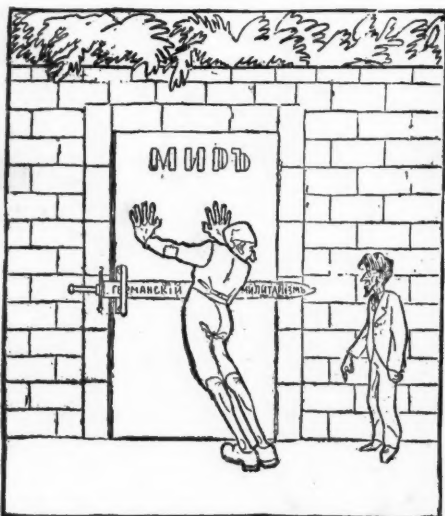
ENGLAND'S ANSWER—AS ECHOED BY CANADA

JOHN BULL (to messenger): "Just tell the party who sent this proposition that I am voting another £300,000,000 and increasing my army by a million men. The Allies will redeem their pledges to Belgium and France."

From the *Daily Star* (Montreal)

well as from England's overseas dominions.

Apart from the belligerents themselves, neutral nations are naturally also deeply interested in the question of the cessation of hostilities. Suggestions of peace have therefore found prompt and strong support in countries like Holland, Switzerland, and the United States.



GERMANY AT THE DOOR OF PEACE—A RUSSIAN OPINION

GERMAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRAT: "Michael, you can not open that 'Peace' door, until the sword (German Militarism) is broken."—From *Listok* (Odessa)



THE PEACE LOVER—AS VIEWED IN INDIA

GERM-HUN: "Nurse me, madam; I sadly require your attention."

PEACE: "Begone, sir. Take the advice of the Allied doctors, first."

From *Hindi Punch* (Bombay)



EVERY TIME A PROPOSAL OF PEACE IS PUT FORTH, THE ENGLISH WAR SPIRIT BREAKS THROUGH AND DESTROYS IT

From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)



MIRAGE OR REALITY?

From the *Times* (New York)

Jan.—3

Whether because of the militant spirit of England, as *Nebelspalter* has it, or the militarism of Germany, according to the cartoon below, it is more than likely that the vision of peace may prove to be nothing more than a disappointing mirage.



NOT ROOM FOR BOTH MILITARISM AND PEACE

From the *Commercial Appeal* (Memphis)

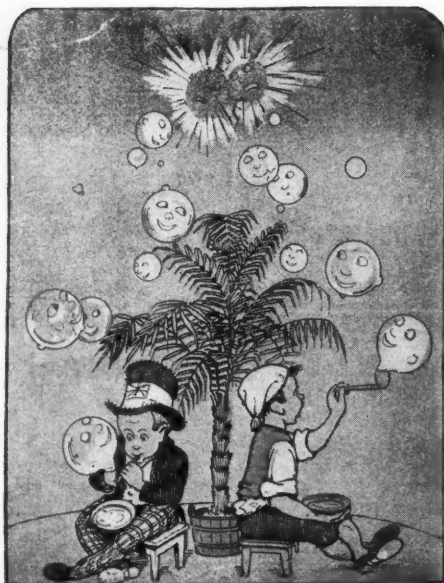


THE ARDUOUS TASK OF THE PEACE ANGEL

PEACE ANGEL: "Those obstinate beasts; don't they realize who is behind them?"
From *De Amsterdammer* (Amsterdam)

The cartoon above, from *De Amsterdammer*, puts the economic reasons for peace rather graphically. The animals—representing England and Germany—are already

sadly war-worn and cadaverous, and "Mother Peace" is struggling hard to drag them into the ark of safety before the Destroyer catches up with them.



THE PACIFICISTS AND THEIR PEACE BUBBLES
From *Nebelspalter* (Zurich)



THE ULTIMATUM

PEACE: "This year, however, I will not be put off."
From *Die Muskete* (Vienna)



HIS TURN

From the *Evening Post* (New York)

England, too, following the example of Germany, is to have its food regulation. Under the new Lloyd George government reorganization John Bull, like German



CAN HE PULL HIM OUT?

From the *News* (Dayton)

Michael, may also soon be presenting tickets for his meals.

The spectacle of Ferdinand of Rumania, as another king without a kingdom, has also caught the attention of many cartoonists, while the deportation of the Belgians has brought out strong condemnatory cartoons like that by Robert Carter, on this page.



DISILLUSIONED

KING FERDINAND: "And I thought I would share in the spoils!"

From the *Public Ledger* (Philadelphia)



BROTHER TO THE OX!

From the *Sun* (New York)



THE ANGLO-BRITISH OFFENSIVE

ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN THE SQUIRREL CAGE: "What think you, brother, shall we not soon reach the Rhine?"
From *Lustige Blätter* © (Berlin)



ONE FULFILLED WISH OF THE ENTENTE

"We have always wished for a beaten Hohenzollern—and here he is! King Ferdinand of Rumania!"
From *Jugend* © (Munich)



THE SITUATION IN GREECE

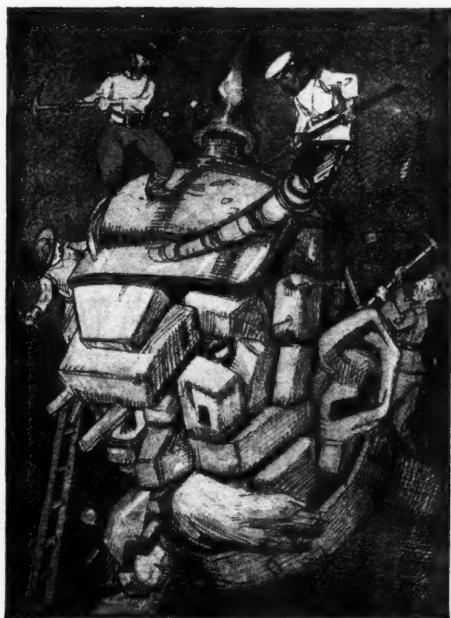
VENIZELOS (to the Anglo-French allies): "The King sits so securely on his throne that I do not think we can get him off. It would be best to overthrow throne and all."

From *Meggendorfer-Blätter* © (Munich)



AN OPTICAL ILLUSION IN THE BALKAN FOG

"At last I am within sight of Constantinople."
"Holy Ivan! Again the Prussian helmets and bayonets." From *Kladderadatsch* © (Berlin)



THE DEMOLITION
From *L'Asino* (Rome)

The Italian view of the war situation points confidently to the demolition of the German war giant, as frequently expressed in the gay-colored cartoons of *L'Asino* of Rome; while the cover design from *La Baïonnette* gives indication of the strong intention of France to push the Prussian off her



Cover design from *La Baïonnette* (Paris)



FREEING POLAND

(And presenting her to the husband the Kaiser has picked out for her,—the German military organization)
From *De Nieuwe Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam)

soil. In other words, to sum up, the spirit and the preparations of the Entente Allies forbode a gloomy year 1917 for the Germans, as *Punch* of London intimates in the cartoon reproduced below.



From *Punch* © (London)

NEW GOVERNORS IN OFFICE

SPEAKING generally, it is obvious that with the growth of many of the States in size and importance, the office of Governor has taken on a new meaning; but this of itself is not enough to account for the enhanced dignity that now hedges the chief executive of more than one of our commonwealths. The office itself has grown, and we find national recognition of the fact in the frequent gubernatorial conferences that are called to consider questions affecting large groups of States and even the country as a whole.

In January, 1915, we commented in this magazine on the careers and personalities of the Governors taking office at that time. Eleven of those men were chosen in the November elections for second terms. They are: Marcus H. Holcomb (Rep.), of Connecticut; Moses Alexander (Dem.), of Idaho; Arthur Capper (Rep.), of Kansas; Samuel V. Stewart (Dem.), of Montana; Charles S. Whitman (Rep.), of New York; R. Livingston Beekman (Rep.), of Rhode Island; Richard I. Manning (Dem.); of South Carolina; Thomas C. Rye (Dem.), of Tennessee; James E. Ferguson (Dem.), of Texas; Ernest Lister (Dem.), of Washington; and Emanuel L. Philipp (Rep.), of Wisconsin.

Nothing will more clearly indicate the composite nature of last fall's election results than a rapid survey of the list of the Governors chosen at that time. Of the twenty-three new Governors taking office this month, twelve are Democrats and eleven Republicans. Republican Governors succeed Democrats in Arizona, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and New Jersey. On the other hand, Democratic Governors succeed Republicans in Colorado, Ohio, Utah, and West Virginia.

IN EASTERN STATES

Three of the six New England States, namely, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, reelected their chief executives this year. Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont chose new heads for their governments. All six of the New England governors are Republican. Maine, it will be remembered, had a "spotlight" election in Sep-

tember. The big question was whether aggressive, young Carl E. Milliken, "Baptist churchman and rampant prohibitionist," who promised to use the militia if necessary to enforce the liquor law, should be given the chance to put his ideas into practise, and Maine decided for Milliken. Milliken is a Roosevelt Republican, clean cut and forward looking, six feet two, and straight as an Indian. He makes a fine impression on the stump, and can call more Maine voters by their first names than could any man who ran for office before him. He has been president of the State Senate, where he did good service, and is now only thirty-nine—the youngest Governor Maine ever had. He will have his hands full to make good on his platform pledges.

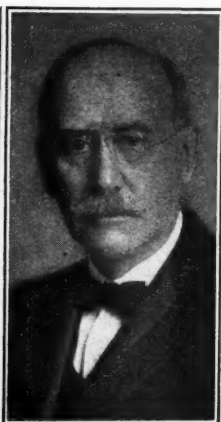
The neighboring State of New Hampshire chose Henry W. Keyes, of Haverhill, farmer and railroad man, as its chief executive. Keyes did not share the suspense of the Presidential candidates in the matter of a close election, for he had a safe plurality of 5000, as against less than a hundred for Wilson, keeping the governorship in the Republican column in the only New England State that went for Wilson.

Keyes is the first Grafton County man to be elected governor of New Hampshire in sixty years. He is a man of wealth, with a background of Harvard—where he was famous as an athlete and rowed on the varsity crew—but is democratic in his views. His principal occupation is farming on his large estate at Haverhill, where he has been one of the pioneer breeders of Holstein cattle in the country.

Across the line in Vermont the Green Mountain boys chose Horace F. Graham, of Craftsbury. Graham was born in New York in 1862, was graduated from Columbia University in 1888, and located at Craftsbury in the same year. He is a lawyer by profession, and has come up through various local and State offices to his election as Governor by a large plurality. His advocacy of reforms in administration, and the efficiency that characterized his long service as Auditor of Accounts, promise well for the State government under this Progressive-Republican.



CARL E. MILLIKEN
(Maine)



HORACE F. GRAHAM
(Vermont)

In no part of the country has the amalgamation between the Republicans and the Progressives been more complete than in New Jersey. In that State Progressives voted for the entire Republican ticket, from President to path-master. The result of the campaign was a sweeping Republican victory. The Hon. Walter E. Edge, of Atlantic County, president of the State Senate, was elected Governor by a handsome plurality. Colonel Edge is forty-four years of age, and has been a successful advertising manager and newspaper publisher (he is proprietor of the *Atlantic City Press*). Colonel Edge served in the Spanish-American War as Second Lieutenant of Volunteers, and has since held important commands in the National Guard. He has engaged to give the State a business administration and advocates a State road commission. Since his election he has announced that he will ask the legislature to enact a law for a special road tax of \$3,000,000 to be levied annually for five years. This will be a mill tax adding ten cents per \$1000 to the present rate.

In Delaware, which was also narrowly carried by Hughes, and which will send a Democrat—Josiah O. Wolcott—to the Senate, in place of Colonel du Pont, the Republican candidate for Governor, John G. Townsend was elected to guide the destinies of the "Diamond" State.

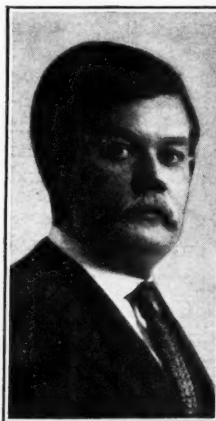
THE SOUTH

West Virginia, while giving Hughes a plurality, and electing a Republican senator to succeed a Democrat, chose at the same time a Democratic Governor, John J. Cornwell, to succeed a Republican. Cornwell is very popular in West Virginia, where he is not only known for his political activities, but has taught school, practised law in four counties, helped build a railroad, edited a newspaper, is the head of a bank, a development company, and a lumber company, and also raises apples and peaches on the side. And all these activities packed in the lifetime of a man under fifty years of age. No wonder it is said of him that he rarely "loafs." Cornwell has served two terms in the State Senate, and in 1904 ran unsuccessfully for the position to which he has now been overwhelmingly elected.

While South Carolina retained its Governor, Richard J. Manning, North Carolina chose a new man—Thomas W. Bickett, who is not new in public service, however, having been a member of the State legislature, Attorney-General for two terms, and a member of the State Board of Education. Mr. Bickett's conduct in these offices won strong commendation and gives every promise of an administration as Governor destined to hold a high rank in a State that has had a notably large percentage of able and broad-minded executives.



HENRY W. KEYES
(New Hampshire)



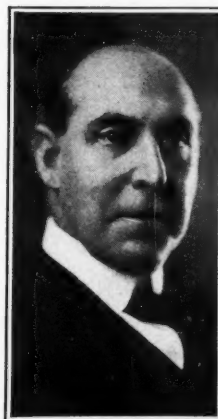
JOHN G. TOWNSEND
(Delaware)



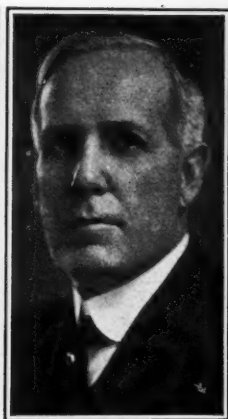
WALTER E. EDGE
(New Jersey)

Governor-elect Frederick D. Gardner (Democrat), of Missouri, is addressing himself to the problem of raising revenues sufficient to meet the \$2,000,000 deficit that now exists in that State. The Governor-elect called a conference in St. Louis last month which considered revenue plans and agreed to recommend to the legislature the creation of a Tax Commission with power to equalize taxes throughout the State. This conference accepted the Governor's proposals to increase the collateral inheritance tax from 5 to 7½ per cent. and to submit to the people a constitutional amendment authorizing an income tax. Colonel Gardner was a Kentucky boy who left the farm and went to St. Louis at the age of eighteen, where he has worked his way up to a high position in business. He was forty-seven years old the day before his election as Governor. His great achievement has been the passage by the legislature of the Gardner Land Bank Act, which has just gone into effect. This is to give twenty-five-year loans to farmers at 4.3 per cent. interest, and it is expected to bring a hundred million dollars of new money into the State. Colonel Gardner's plans have been endorsed by authorities everywhere, and his further career will deserve national attention.

It goes without saying that the new Governor of Arkansas is a Democrat, but the Hon. Charles Hillman Brough modestly wears



C. H. BROUGH
(Arkansas)



© Harris & Ewing
JOHN J. CORNWELL
(West Virginia)



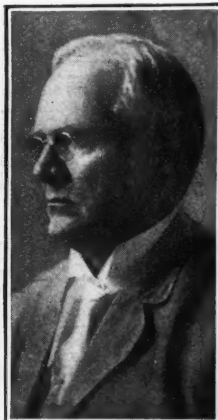
F. D. GARDNER
(Missouri)

certain distinctions that have not commonly appertained to the occupant of the executive offices at Little Rock. For one thing, he is Doctor of Philosophy, of Johns Hopkins University, where he did graduate work in political economy, political science, and history, and listened to the lectures of Professor Woodrow Wilson. He has held professorships of political science at Mississippi College and the University of Arkansas, and it is said that he was the organizer of the first college men's Woodrow Wilson club in the United States. The chief plank in his platform is the reformation of the assessment and taxation systems of his State.

The remaining Southern States to hold gubernatorial elections last year were Georgia and Florida. Hugh M. Dorsey, the victor in the September primaries for Governor in Georgia, had achieved national celebrity as the prosecutor in the trial of Leo M. Frank for murder. Although opposed by many political interests, Dorsey won on his appeal for the election of a Governor who would enforce the laws. He claimed that the courts should decide the punishment of criminals, and that the Governor should not interfere. Besides law enforcement and the Frank case, educational matters and the affairs of the State-owned Western & Atlantic Railroad also played a part in the hard-fought preliminary primary contest in Georgia.



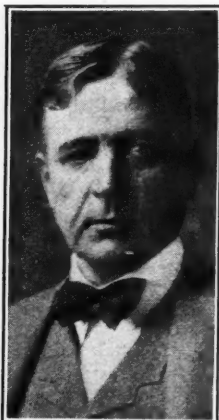
HUGH M. DORSEY
(Georgia)



REV. S. J. CATTS
(Florida)



Photo by Bain News Service

JAMES M. COX
(Ohio)

© Moffett, Chicago

FRANK O. LOWDEN
(Illinois)

In Florida, Rev. Sidney J. Catts, Baptist minister, running on a "dry" platform and with a large anti-Catholic following, defeated his Democratic opponent for Governor in a contest almost without precedent in Florida for intensity and bitterness. A newcomer from the State of Alabama, where he had held several small pastorates, had farmed, engaged in commercial pursuits, and had once contested a Congressional seat with J. Thomas Heflin, the present incumbent, Mr. Catts launched a campaign for the Governorship of Florida which was greeted with derision and considered as a joke. Practically a stranger in the State, without wealth or record of public service, opposed by the solid liquor interests, the office-holding influence, the Catholic element, and the press, he yet defeated four of the strongest and best-known men in the State. Mr. Catts is a native of Alabama and is fifty-three years of age. He is a forceful speaker, has decided views on labor and corporation matters, as well as patronage, and promises to give to Florida the best administration in his power. He has defined his attitude toward capital and labor, stating that he is a friend of the corporations as well as of the laboring man, but that he will not resort to extreme measures to enforce the claims of the corporations against labor. He is described as a man of absolute sincerity and fearlessness in what he regards as the right.

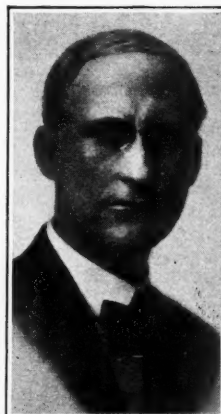
W. L. HARDING
(Iowa)

THE MIDDLE WEST

A significant feature of the Democratic sweep in Ohio was the election as Governor for the second time, after two years of retirement, of the Hon. James M. Cox. Since the constitutional convention of Ohio four years ago, there has been a marked progressive trend in the politics of that State. Governor Cox instituted a reform program during his former administration and was elected last fall largely on his promise to fulfill that program. During his first term of office he became known as an able and fearless executive, winning much commendation for his work immediately after the disastrous floods of 1913. Cox was born in Ohio in 1870, a farmer's boy who worked in a printer's office and taught country school, working then as a reporter in Cincinnati and finally becoming

owner of that lively paper from which we reproduce so many good cartoons, the *Dayton Daily News*. When not holding office he runs the Dayton and Springfield newspapers.

In contrast to the brilliant results of the Democratic campaign in Ohio the party organization in the neighbor State of Indiana fared ill. One of the incidents of the rebuke administered by the voters was the election to the Governorship of the Republican candidate, the Hon. James Putnam Goodrich, of Winchester. Mr. Goodrich is a lawyer of extensive practise in the State, who has served as Chairman of the

JAMES P. GOODRICH
(Indiana)ALBERT E. SLEEPER
(Michigan)

Republican State Central Committee, and also as a member of the Republican National Executive Committee, but he has not heretofore held public office. "Jim" Goodrich is Hoosier-born, a De Pauw University graduate, and will be fifty-three years old next month. He has a talent for being president or director in all kinds of money-making corporations, which is wholly to the credit of so good a Presbyterian.

Colonel Frank O. Lowden, who was swept into the Governorship by the heavily Republican vote of Illinois, began the practise of law in Chicago thirty years ago. He represented the Thirteenth Illinois District in Congress for two terms and was for eight years a member of the Republican National Committee. Governor Lowden, by the way, is a native of Minnesota and a graduate of Iowa State University. He is fifty-six years old. He has become almost as famous for his splendid Illinois farm as for his legal and political record.

The Hon. W. L. Harding, of Iowa, was elected by the extraordinary plurality of 142,000 votes. No Governor of Iowa had ever before received more than 83,000 plurality. Governor Harding carried



Photo by Press Illustrating Service

PETER R. NORBECK
(South Dakota)



LYNN J. FRAZIER
(North Dakota)



KEITH NEVILLE
(Nebraska)

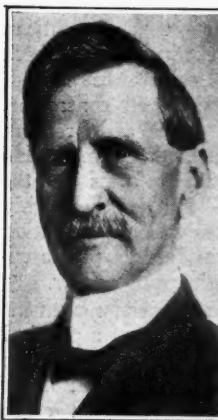


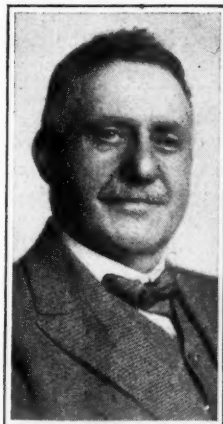
Photo by Paul Thompson

JULIUS C. GUNTER
(Colorado)

every county in the State but one, and lost that by only seventy-two votes. He was elected to the legislature from Woodbury County, in which Sioux City is located, in 1906; he served three terms in the Lower House, was elected Lieutenant-Governor in 1912, and reelected to that office in 1914. At the outset of his administration he is urging the enactment of fewer laws

by the legislature and closer attention to the State's financial needs and to economy in government. Harding is, of course, a native son; and he was a popular young lawyer at Sioux City when he began to fill offices at Des Moines at the age of twenty-nine, that being ten years ago. His victory is the more remarkable because his opponent, Mr. Meredith, is a famous agricultural editor.

The Hon. Albert E. Sleeper, who becomes Governor of Michigan on January 1, the day after his fifty-fourth birthday, is a banker and business man, a native of Vermont, who has lived in Michigan for a third of a century, and has been State Senator, State Treasurer, and a member of the Republican State Central Committee. He was elected Governor by about 100,000 plurality, while Hughes carried the State by about



SIMON B. BAMBERGER
(Utah)



Photo by Heath, Phoenix, Ariz.

THOMAS E. CAMPBELL
(Arizona)

50,000. Governor Sleeper has promised a business administration and has urged the adoption of a State budget system.

THE WESTERN STATES

The Pacific Coast has produced no new Governor this year, but in the Rocky Mountain and prairie States there are half a dozen.

Nebraska's new executive is Keith Neville—a Democrat, thirty-two years old—who was unknown in State politics until he was brought forward as a candidate last fall. He is a native son, a product of the State University, and heir to a great cattle ranch. On election day Nebraska adopted State-wide prohibition; and the "wet" or "dry" issue had dominated all others. Mr. Neville was opposed by the prohibitionists, chief among them being Mr. Bryan; but he was nevertheless elected by a small plurality.

The Dakotas each chose a Republican Governor. In South Dakota, Peter Norbeck is the first native-born son to be elected. He is a successful artesian-well contractor. Quite naturally, his platform and program recognize the importance of the farmer. He favors rural credits and reforms in the grain-elevator system. He is thoroughly progressive, urging the adoption of taxation changes, a budget system for the public expenditures, and a stringent primary law.

In North Dakota the farmers' movement has approached the proportions of a political revolution. Demanding State-owned grain elevators within the State and at railway terminals outside, and failing upon every issue to impress the legislators whom they had chosen to represent them, the farmers of North Dakota two years ago organized a Non-Partisan Political League. It enrolled 40,000 members, nominated candidates in the Republican primaries, and at the recent election swept the State. Its nominee for Governor, Lynn J. Frazier, was elected by 90,000 votes against 20,000 for his opponent. Besides elevators for storing grain, the farmers will work for a State-owned flour mill, a packing plant, hail and fire insurance, rural credits, and for the exemption of farm improvements from taxation. This North Dakota farmers' movement is spreading rapidly through neighboring States. Mr. Frazier was born on a farm in Minnesota, forty-two years ago, but was brought to North Dakota when still a small boy. He taught country school, worked his way through the State University, and became a successful modern farmer.

The new Governor of Colorado is Julius C. Gunter, a distinguished Denver lawyer and former justice of the State Supreme Court. He was unopposed in the Democratic primary, and he defeated Governor Carlson in the election by a fair plurality. Mr. Gunter was born in Arkansas fifty-eight years ago, and moved to Colorado in his early youth. He is interested in educational affairs, and is exceptionally popular with labor in a State which has seen much industrial strife recently.

Utah is about to inaugurate its first non-Mormon Governor; yet the tradition that no "Gentile" ever would be elected to the office remains unshattered. Simon Bamberger, millionaire railroad man and mine-owner—candidate of Democrats and Progressives—defeated the son of a Mormon bishop. Being a Jew helped rather than hindered him, and, like the Democratic presidential ticket, he had overwhelming Mormon support. This successful business man hopes to be able to clear away a deficit in the treasury by introducing efficiency in State affairs and by some changes in taxation. He was elected on a platform calling for complete prohibition, and will sign the measure that the legislature is in turn pledged to adopt.

Arizona's new Governor, also, is interested primarily in the problems of reducing State expenditures and devising a more equitable basis of taxation. He is Thomas E. Campbell, Republican, elected by a plurality of thirty-two votes, while the State was carried by the Democratic candidates for the Presidency and the United States Senate. For the past two years he has been Tax Commissioner, and previously had been assessor of Yavapai County of which the city of Prescott is the county seat. He was born in Arizona, and is a fine specimen of the young and virile Westerner.

In the neighboring State of New Mexico another native son takes office in the person of Ezequiel C. de Baca, who has been Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. de Baca is a Democrat, fifty-two years old. For many years he has been associate editor of *La Voz del Pueblo* (The Voice of the People), and is said to represent the Mexican element of the State. In order the better to support him, Governor Macdonald ran as his Lieutenant-Governor. Mr. de Baca favors highway improvements, more and better schools (having himself been a school teacher), and revision of the election law.

PEACE, POLITICS, AND WAR— A MARVELOUS MONTH

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. GERMANY PROPOSES PEACE

SINCE the weeks that preceded and followed the Marne there has been no such dramatic period in the whole war as the period since I closed my last article in this magazine. In less than four weeks Rumania has met with complete disaster and Bucharest has fallen; the British Government has been overthrown and Lloyd George and a new ministry have replaced Asquith and that Coalition Ministry which has subsisted since an early period in the war; France has retired Joffre, selecting a new commander, and remade its ministry; there has been a remaking of Russian ministers; and, finally, Germany has proposed a conference to make peace.

Of these three great developments—developments of war, politics, and peace—that of peace is at the moment the most interesting and has commanded the attention of the world. It is this development that demands first attention and will consume most of the space that I have at my disposal this month.

At the outset we should be perfectly clear as to one thing: In making her proposal for a peace conference, Germany did not suggest any terms of peace. She has so far made no suggestion of terms. The German Ambassador has thrown out many hints and suggestions in Washington as to what those terms may be, but these suggestions are without the smallest official sanction and cannot have any decisive bearing at this time.

In proposing peace Germany took the world by surprise. Why did she make the proposal? Was it the magnanimous offer of a conqueror? Was it the move of wise statesmanship, which perceived at one time that Rumanian victories had enhanced German prestige in the world and made it possible to propose peace without confessing weakness, and saw also that German success was now at its apex and that the German people desired peace? Was it the recognition that German defeat was inevitable, if it were not possible to negotiate now, before the Allies were able to enter the next campaign and

bring all their long-delayed plans to fruition?

In my own judgment the German proposal was not made with the idea that Germany could dictate a victorious peace to Europe or impose conditions such as Napoleon imposed upon Prussia after Jena, or the Allies imposed upon France after Waterloo. We must recognize that the war has so far been a draw, in the sense that there has been no decisive victory on one side or the other. No one can dictate peace. This is revealed in the suggestions made from the German Embassy in Washington that the Germans were willing to evacuate Belgium, and the statement of Hindenburg made to an American correspondent that the French could have peace without the loss of territory by mere application.

The great successes of the war, apart from the Marne and Verdun, have been won by the Germans, but these successes are not of the sort that permit the victor to dictate absolute terms. The Allies fighting Louis XIV won more decisive battles at Blenheim and Ramillies than the Germans have won against the French, the British, or the Russians, but this did not enable the Allies to impose their will upon Louis XIV, and at the close of the War of the Spanish Succession France retained her integrity and Spain received a French king.

Nor do I believe that it was the conviction that absolute defeat was impending that led the Germans to make their proffer. In the first place, as I shall point out a little later in discussing the military circumstances of the present time, I do not believe that an absolute victory of the sort that Sedan, Waterloo, or Jena constitute is longer possible for the Allies, as it has not been possible for the Germans since the days of the Marne. If the Germans are to be compelled to accept terms imposed by the Allies, they will be compelled to yield in consequence of economic pressure and in the presence of actual starvation. However inevitable these may be—and I do not pretend to say that they either are or are not inevitable—I do not think they

are so imminent as to compel the Germans to ask for peace, which would be a confession of defeat in its terms, even if there be no German defeat in the military operations which have preceded it.

In a word, I do not believe the Germans proposed peace with any belief that they could impose their will upon Europe absolutely, or save in a degree relatively insignificant as compared with the hopes and proclamations of August, 1914, or even of April, 1916. On the other hand, I do not believe that the proposal is a sign of absolute surrender or of imminent economic collapse. To me it seems rather the result of a shrewd utilization of a recent victory, coupled with an intelligent recognition that the greatest profit the war might have had will not be realized; that reasonable profit is all that Germany can hope for now, and that the German people's desire for peace must be faced.

II. GERMAN POLICY

As I see it, the German Government finds itself gravely embarrassed by the growing demand of the German people for peace. The German people still believe that they are fighting because Germany was attacked. They still believe that it is necessary to defend their integrity. But they do not understand why a war of defense should have to continue when German armies are fighting along the Niemen, the Danube, the Cerna, and the Aisne and the last great campaign has just ended in one of the most complete successes of the war.

Real privation there is in Germany, actual misery and the promise of increasing misery. At the outset of the war official German statistics showed that Germany possessed approximately 4,100,000 trained soldiers. The latest casualty lists bring the German losses up to about 4,000,000, and they are notoriously incomplete. At the beginning of the war the total of trained and untrained population officially estimated as capable of bearing arms was around 10,000,000. Thus two in every five, at the least, of the able-bodied men have been killed, wounded, or captured, and the terrible blood tax continues to be levied, as a casualty list of 166,000 for the month of November indicates.

For such losses victory is no final counter-balance, if the victory does not bring peace and the war that inflicts them is not a war in which the life of Germany is at stake.

Therefore it seems to me that the German Government has offered peace, primarily, because the German people demand that there shall be peace, if peace be possible without risking what they deem necessary to German safety and independence. Hitherto the German Government has steadily responded to the demand of its subjects for peace by asserting that the purpose of the Allies was to destroy Germany. Now, if Germany offers peace and these offers are ignored by the Allies, or if they are met by demands which seem to the German people to threaten German independence, I believe that the immediate result of the maneuver will be to rally the German people to the support of their government and to the support of the war, once more established in their minds as a war for the defense of the Fatherland.

At the same time I believe the German proposal was made with the hope of persuading the people of other belligerent nations, who may be weary of the war and eager for peace, to bring pressure upon their governments for a settlement by negotiation and not by the sword. And in making this appeal it would seem the effort has been made to separate the Allies by offering integrity to France (accepting as official the hints and suggestions of Bernstorff and Hindenburg), restoration for Belgium, and imposing the whole burden of loss upon Russia and her Serbian and Rumanian allies.

Accepting the suggestion that Germany will agree to return the occupied districts of France, to evacuate Belgium, and even to indemnify Belgium in some measure, may not the Germans reason that neither the French nor the British people will care to prolong the sacrifice of the war to win Constantinople for Russia or to re-establish Serbia? But if there be a breach thus opened in the Alliance, then it will collapse in a brief time and Germany will profit by such a collapse.

Quite in the same way the effect of a German proposal for a conference to restore peace will have and has had a tremendous effect upon the public opinion of neutral nations and particularly in the United States, where the demand for peace, almost at any price, is very great, and where there is no very clear recognition of the issues at stake, but a wholly clear notion of the horrors and suffering incident to this most terrible of all wars. The fact that Germany, in the face of recent victories, has offered peace will enlist much American support. Should the Allies spurn this offer, should the result of the sub-

sequent diplomatic and political events be such as to give the impression that the responsibility for the prolongation of the war rests with the Allies, Germany will have made a very real gain in American estimation, the Allies will have lost in sympathy and approval.

These considerations seem to me to have dictated the German proposal for peace and not any realization of approaching collapse, for I believe German leadership still reasons that even if the suffering be great, Germany can still outlast the Allies and prevent them from winning any decisive victory. No necessity, but policy and unmistakably astute statesmanship have, in my judgment, led to the German move.

III. WILL THERE BE PEACE?

Naturally the first question of the whole world was: "Will peace come now?" In my judgment there is no chance of peace before the campaign of next summer is fought out.

Such a conviction is based upon the belief that Germany is not yet prepared to restore Belgium and Serbia, evacuate France, and also return Alsace-Lorraine to France, compel her Austrian ally to surrender Trieste and the Trentino to Italy, and recognize Russian domination at Constantinople. And on no other terms will the Allies now make peace.

On the other hand, I am satisfied that Germany will offer to evacuate France and Belgium, to make some concession to Italy in the matter of the Trentino, and to restore Rumania to independence, having deprived her of the Dobrudja districts taken in the Second Balkan War. I am satisfied that Germany will consent to abandon most, if not all, of her overseas colonies. It seems to me remotely possible but excessively unlikely that the Germans may offer to restore Metz and the French-speaking districts of Lorraine to France in return for a French renunciation of claim to the balance of Alsace-Lorraine.

To match this, however, I am convinced that the Germans will not, save in direct extremity and in the presence of starvation or complete military defeat, agree to restore Lithuania and Poland to Russia, agree to the reestablishment and indemnification of Serbia, and permit Russian occupation of Constantinople. I can even conceive of the German consent to yield in the matter of Lithu-

ania and of Poland, although not under present conditions. But Serbia and Constantinople are vital. If Germany has to surrender these, she will have lost all possible profit from the war and she will have consented to the destruction of the last hope now visible of a German expansion keeping pace with the colonial expansion of Russia, Great Britain, and France, her immediate rivals.

The German people will not give up Alsace-Lorraine save under the compulsion of defeat or starvation. France will not now make peace—nor will her allies fail to sustain her in refusing to make peace—until she regains her lost provinces. Italy will not make peace without Trieste and the Trentino, and her allies must and will stand with her, while Austria cannot give up Trieste without losing her one great seaport. Russia has the pledge of her allies to guarantee her possession of Constantinople at the end of the war and she means to gain it. Finally all the Allies have pledged their honor in the matter of Serbia as well as Belgium and they cannot back down now, save by confessing defeat and accepting dishonor.

All of which is another way of saying that while Germany has so far won most of the stakes in the game, always remembering that the biggest of all stakes escaped her at the Marne, while she is now in the position of offering to make peace and to return a portion of what she has conquered, her enemies do not believe that she can permanently hold what she has won and they are satisfied that if she could permanently hold these things she would not only have won the war, but have become a permanent menace to their safety and thus a guarantee of more wars.

The war is a long way from being fought out. The nations at war, Germany like all the others, are a long way from being ready to concede that they are beaten. But a return to the *status quo ante*, the restoration of Belgium, France, Serbia, Russia would be a defeat for Germany, since it would give her nothing in return for her sacrifices and still leave her outdistanced by her rivals in the world of colonies, and the Allies to-day are not merely united upon a program that calls for the restoration of the *status quo ante*, they ask also Alsace-Lorraine, Trentino and Trieste, and Constantinople.

Yet, satisfied as I am that the present effort to settle the war by negotiation, accepting the German gesture at its face value, will not be wholly without consequence—although it fails to prevent another campaign

and new struggles—such a gesture is the first sign of the approach of peace. In history, negotiations have gone on for years, keeping pace with battles, until it became clear that the war could not be won in the field or the inevitable outcome of the war accelerated the pace of the peacemakers. We shall have peace talk henceforth; we may have formal or informal negotiations henceforth. But I am satisfied we shall have not peace but, rather, the most terrible campaign of the war, next summer. The people of the Allied nations are still ready to make all sacrifices for victory, but now that peace has been suggested, the power of Allied leadership to win must be demonstrated.

IV. BUCHAREST AND PEACE

Before taking up the political changes, which may have a greater immediate meaning than either the military or the peace proposals, I desire now to turn to the military operations, because in them there is an indication of why the Germans found the present hour propitious for making their peace proffer. Last month, when I closed my narrative, the Rumanians were standing on their frontiers, as yet making a successful resist-

ance and there still seemed a possibility that this resistance would hold.

Instead, the Germans under Falkenhayn promptly broke through the Vulcan Pass and then defeated the Rumanians at Ter-Jiu, thus making good their entrance into the Rumanian Plain, compelling their foes to retire to the line of the Alt and cutting off the troops westward along the Danube at Orsova. But before the Rumanians could make good the line of the Alt, Mackensen crossed the Danube in their rear and nearer to Bucharest, and thereafter the Rumanians were compelled to retreat upon their capital.

Making a final stand along the Argelu, in front of Bucharest, they were beaten by Mackensen near the capital and by Falkenhayn to the north. This was the end. Defeated and routed the Rumanian armies fled to the north and east, abandoning their capital and, at the time I write, they are still in retreat, having reached Moavia and having been compelled to abandon the lines of the Jalomnitza and Buzeu, which would have offered good positions for defense. To-day they must rally and with Russian reinforcements stand along the Sereth and thence to the Transylvanian Alps, in which Russian armies are standing, or else Russian and Rumanian armies must retire behind the Pruth and the position of the Russians in the Bukovina and Galicia may be seriously compromised, while Rumania, like Serbia and Belgium, will disappear from the map.

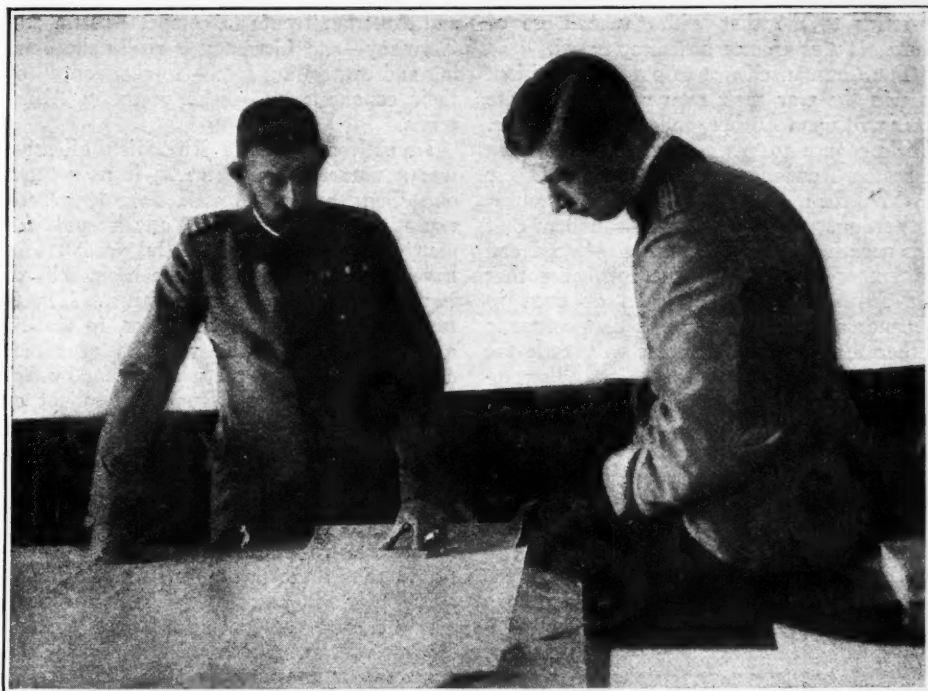
There now remains the great problem whether the Germans will undertake a further push eastward toward Odessa and Kiev or will turn their attention southward and endeavor to expel Sarraïl first from Monastir and then from Salonica and, joining hands with the royalist forces in Greece, complete their supremacy in the Balkan peninsula. Even if the lines about Salonica hold, the Allied army will be in the position of Wellington at Torres Vedras, and German domination in the Balkan peninsula, like Napoleonic supremacy in the Iberian, will be assured.

And with the Rumanian collapse it seems to me that the real chance of the Allies to win a decision in the Near East has disappeared. As long as the German line of communication with Constantinople depended upon the control of a single railroad, that from Belgrade, through Sofia to the Golden Horn, there was hope that the Allies might succeed in cutting this line and thus isolating Turkey and Bulgaria. But with the down-



THE RUMANIAN WAR ZONE

(The solid line shows the present front. The dotted line represents the front as it was when Rumania came into the war)



KING FERDINAND OF RUMANIA AND HIS ELDEST SON, PRINCE CHARLES, STUDYING THE WAR MAP

fall of Rumania many other lines are opened, including the Danube, and now the fall of Nish itself, from which the Sarraill army is still hopelessly distant, would not change the situation.

As for Rumania's aid, which was an essential to this plan, it is no longer an element. The Germans announce that they have taken far more than 100,000 Rumanian prisoners and estimate the Rumanian loss in all at not less than 300,000 men. If Rumania has saved 200,000 men from the wreck it will be surprising; and these men will hardly be in a better condition than the Serb army that last year escaped through the Albanian wilderness. As for the Sarraill army at Monastir, its major usefulness is ended; its purpose was to join hands with the Rumanians and, although it has taken Monastir, the Rumanians are no longer a force and the campaign for the old objectives is over.

What a sorry mess the Allies have made of the Balkan situation is now clear. Their diplomacy lost them first Greece and then Bulgaria; their diplomacy—and Sir Edward Grey was chiefly at fault—lost them Serbia, sacrificed to British ignorance of the facts of the Balkan condition. Indeed the responsibility for the first and most terrible of all

blunders, the escape of the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* to Constantinople, and the subsequent failure of the British fleet to follow them up the straits must rest upon a British admiral.

Gallipoli, Serbian disasters, Rumanian collapse, these are the measure of the Allied muddle in the Balkans, and now the last new factor has been eliminated. There is no further chance of enlisting Greece, of persuading Bulgaria to change sides, of isolating Turkey, and then opening the Straits. Conceivably the Allied army may hold Salonica, but the value of this as a military consideration has disappeared, now it is only a question of whether the Allies can afford to abandon Serbia for a second time, even when the Balkan game is played out.

V. THE LAST CHANCE

My readers are aware that I have believed at all times that it would be possible for the Allies to obtain a decision in the field over the Germans and their allies, that we should have, not necessarily a Waterloo or even a Leipzig, but an ultimate military decision based upon superior numbers, resources, and opportunity. But

it seems to me that with the collapse of Rumania this chance has disappeared.

The German chance to obtain a decision, to win the war their own way and impose their will upon Europe, ended at the Marne. Their chance to get a separate peace from a beaten Russia ended a year ago. Their final bid for a decision in the West crumbled at Verdun. But although still confident that this negative decision remains absolute, I can no longer see any warrant for belief that the Allies will go to Berlin or even to Vienna; and my judgment is that economic rather than military elements will settle the war, that the military battle is tending toward a draw, a real draw, a failure of both sides to get a decision.

By this I do not mean to say that the Allies will not make material gains in the West in this new year, 1917. They have failed to break through at the Somme, and the Somme is a defeat for them, as Verdun was a defeat for the Germans, not even the local success that would have been proven by their occupation of Baupaume and Péronne, as I pointed out months ago, has been achieved, but it is true, on the other hand, that they were at one time near to a considerable victory and the Germans very seriously considered a shortening of their western front.

In my judgment the next western campaign will see the Allies push the Germans back to the French frontier, to the line of the Meuse below Verdun and not impossibly to the line of Verdun—Mezières—Namur—Brussels—Antwerp. But such a campaign will entail enormous Allied losses, and it does not hold out any bright prospects of an actual piercing of the German lines and a return to a war of motion on the old lines, with the probability or even the fair chance of a great, crushing German disaster.

We have the best German authority for the statement that the Central Powers are everywhere outnumbered, and we may easily conclude that this year on the western front they will be outgunned. But it seems to me that German strategy has at last recognized the impossibility of winning the war by conquering its foes in the field, and has fallen back upon the purpose to hold the lines that it has now made good and to continue a defensive war, in the main, in the belief that the Allies will be exhausted before they can win a decisive victory or even make a sufficiently deep cut into the German

and Austrian fronts to compel Austria and Germany—and Germany is really the driving and controlling force—to abandon all of their conquests and make peace on Allied terms.

In such a plan the Rumanian offensive was a natural detail, for, as it now turns out, Germany and Austria have long been expecting the Rumanian attack and for many months German and Bulgarian troops have been immobilized, have been held in reserve against a Rumanian thrust. Therefore the Rumanian frontier was, in reality, a battle-front and the victories of recent days have shortened the whole front by 600 miles, since the great Rumanian salient or bulge, extending into the block of Central Powers' territory, has been ironed out and there is now only the far shorter front between the Bukovina and the Danube at Cernavoda.

The Austro-German front from the Baltic to the Black Sea now runs practically straight, it will be organized with the usual German care, and behind it the Central Powers will await attack. No new enemies threaten, or can threaten, the Central Europe of German dreams is a fact upon the map, and it is a fact that can only be erased by long, bitter campaigns, unless the German military power suddenly collapses, which is unlikely, or Germany and her allies run out of food and men, both of which are wholly possible, but neither seem to me immediate possibilities.

In conquering Rumania, Germany acquired vast quantities of wheat and great oil wells. Even if much wheat was destroyed by the Rumanians in their retreat, there has been a large booty of foodstuffs and the fields remain for next year's crop. German food problems are not solved, but at the least they have been lessened. And I am firmly convinced that German policy is based upon the belief that Germany and her allies, despite privations, despite shortages, can last until the Allies are tired out by their efforts to break through the German lines, and that when this time comes peace will be made on the basis of the war map, that is that Germany and her allies will keep their Balkan conquests and thus German control of Constantinople and Asia Minor will be established by the treaty of peace.

And with the collapse of Rumania, Germany has about accomplished all that her soldiers and statesmen believe can be accom-

plished in the present war. Hence this offer of peace, which will carry with it, I am sure, very large concessions in the matter of occupied territory and will only insist upon the German and Austrian supremacy in Poland and in the Balkans. A treaty of peace which restored Europe to the conditions of 1914, save in the matter of Serbia, which, for example, gave the Trentino to Italy and Metz to France, would mean that Germany had won in the war a prize that would be equivalent to winning the war, although not equivalent to winning the war as Germany had originally hoped and expected to win it.

Henceforth I believe the military operations will have far less meaning than in the past and that, aside from possible German attacks upon Salonica and upon Suez, which are almost inevitable and are really incidental to Germany's main purpose of Central European and Western Asiatic domination, Germany will follow a policy of defense. She will put the burden of attack upon her foes and await their exhaustion. And having proposed peace and offered France her territory of 1914, offered to restore Belgium, and even to give Italy a Trentine *pourboire*, as I am satisfied she will, she can hope that France and Italy will presently abandon a fight to give Russia Constantinople, and that even Britain will tire of the costs of such a struggle, which cannot have any commensurate reward for the English.

I do not mean to assert that such a policy can win, even on the terms I have suggested. This will depend upon the food condition of Germany and the other economic circumstances. But it seems to me that Germany is now deliberately accepting the kind of war her foes asserted would insure her defeat; namely, a war of exhaustion and attrition. She signalizes the beginning of such a war by proposing peace, undoubtedly she will make other peace offers if the first fails, unquestionably she will increase her bid as time goes on, but I do not believe she will abandon the main purpose, the control of the road to the Near East and the supremacy in the Balkans and Asia Minor, until she is either crushed in the field or conquered by starvation, and I cannot now see any hope of conquest in the field within the time limit that the present war can run. It is by hunger that the Allies must impose their will upon Germany, if they are to impose it, I now believe.

VI. ASQUITH GOES

Germany's peace proposal was preceded a few days by the fall of Asquith and the Coalition Ministry that has long been under fire. The occasion of the fall was the demand of Lloyd George that there be a small war council, to consist of not more than five members, to which the Prime Minister should not belong, and that this council of five should direct the war. When Asquith, after wavering, declined, Lloyd George resigned and the King sent, first, for Bonar Law, the Tory leader, and then for Lloyd George, who accepted the mission, and by enlisting the support of the Labor members of Parliament obtained a majority in the House.

But the real causes of the fall of Asquith were two-fold, the collapse of Rumania and the failure of the British Navy to deal successfully with a new submarine campaign of Germany which has been making very steady and heavy gains in its effectiveness and awakening very grave apprehension in England. Already Jellicoe had been made First Sea Lord, and Beatty, who fought so gallantly at Jutland, had succeeded to the command of the Grand Fleet.

In the minds of Parliament and the British people the failure of Asquith had been complete. He had muddled from the very first day of the war, and his muddling before the war was largely responsible for the position in which Britain found herself when the blow fell. He had told the British people that they had shells, when shells were lacking; he had been largely responsible for the collapse of an Irish settlement; in all the great crises that had arisen he had shown himself a superb parliamentary leader, but a leader incapable of directing the forces of a great nation in a terrible war. Always Mr. Asquith was merely the astute and ready party leader, who preserved control of a majority of the members of the House, despite the misfortunes of his country and of his associates, for which he was largely responsible.

And Viscount Grey, even more than Mr. Asquith, seemed to the British people responsible for the failure in the Near East. It was Grey who had sacrificed Serbia a year ago in the mistaken notion that Bulgaria could be bought by the promise of a restoration of lost territory. It was Sir Edward Grey who had been responsible for the loss of Greece and the interminable

blundering which had left King Constantine able and ready to strike in the rear of Sarraïl and thus to cripple the Mönastir campaign at the moment of Rumanian peril.

From the days when Sir Edward Grey had lent his sanction to the miserable Albanian compromise, which provoked the Second Balkan War, destroyed the Balkan league, and made a new war inevitable, his lack of grasp of the Eastern situation has cost his country and its allies incalculable loss in men and in treasure. It is hardly too much to say that if Germany is able as the result of the war to hold her conquests along the Danube and her domination at the Golden Horn, the blame will be divided between Winston Churchill and Viscount Grey.

In the latest Rumanian crisis the British people saw new muddling by Grey, new ineptitude by Asquith, they perceived that a council of twenty-two—such was the Coalition Cabinet—was incapable of decisions, and that the best effort and the best energy of a nation, long deceived by their ministers as to the greatness of British peril, but now wide awake and earnestly at war, were being sacrificed to the weakness and blindness of Asquith, Grey, and the Liberal statesmen who still survived in the Coalition Cabinet.

A crusade against the Cabinet had been carried on for long months by the Northcliffe press and by many other influential journals and magazines. Yet such was the superb skill of Asquith in his own parliamentary field that he had managed to weather all storms and only by a narrow margin lost his last fight and passed out of power and into the opposition. He went because the British people, now resolved to win the war, newly aroused by the Rumanian disaster, the Greek muddle, the failure at the Somme, at last realized that it was no longer impossible for them to lose the war.

A determination to win the war, the resolution of a great people, which in the recent months had lost not less than half a million men in battle, which saw its own food supplies threatened by a submarine campaign still unchecked, which had come at last to the conclusion that the war never could be won by the Ministry in power, broke with every British tradition and placed itself almost as unreservedly in the hands of Lloyd George as France, weary of the chaos of the Revolution, gave herself to Napoleon a century ago.

VII. LLOYD GEORGE

This war has wrought many miracles. A few months ago men marveled at the fortune of Aristide Briand, who came to Paris not so many years ago, literally in want and seemingly without friends or fortune, and in February of last year presided in Paris at the Conference of the Allied Nations. The rise of Lloyd George has been only less spectacular and to-day he is in power because he has the support of that Conservative party which less than a decade ago, through their press and on the platform, denounced him in terms that were hardly paralleled in British vituperative politics.

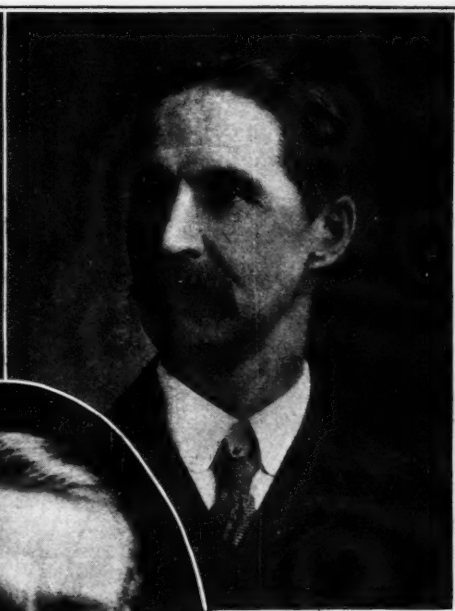
Yet from the outset of the war it has been Lloyd George who has done things. It has been Lloyd George alone who has risen to the necessities of the changing hours and has been able to mobilize British energy despite British tradition. It was as Minister of Munitions that he ended that dismal scandal that had resulted in sending shrapnel to the trenches when high-explosive shells were alone of use and thus ended the wanton sacrifice of British lives. It was Lloyd George who almost solved the insoluble Irish problem, when the Sinn Fein revolt blazed up last spring and for a time threatened civil war.

A year ago Sir Edward Carson had left the Cabinet because he asserted that he could find no evidence of any purpose to act, only idle and empty talk. After all these months of blundering and of failure Lloyd George destroyed the Cabinet by a similar charge and by his resignation. There was much in Lloyd George's political past which did not appeal to the British people. He was not, like Kitchener, a symbol, embodying visibly the traits which the British most admire. But as the British prospects worsened, as the failure of the Asquith government became more and more manifest, the British people turned to Lloyd George as the last hope, as the one man who seemed to have the qualities and the courage necessary to win the war.

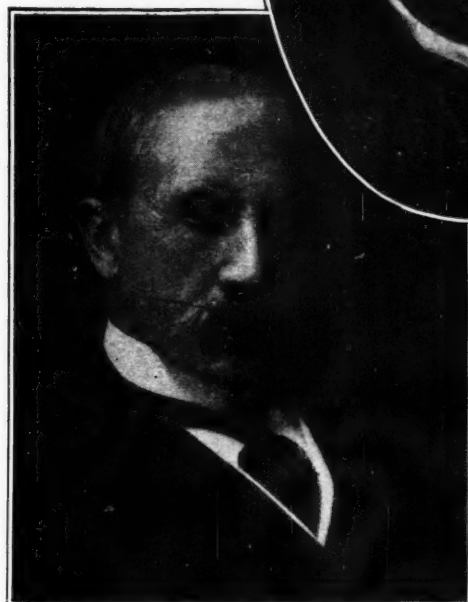
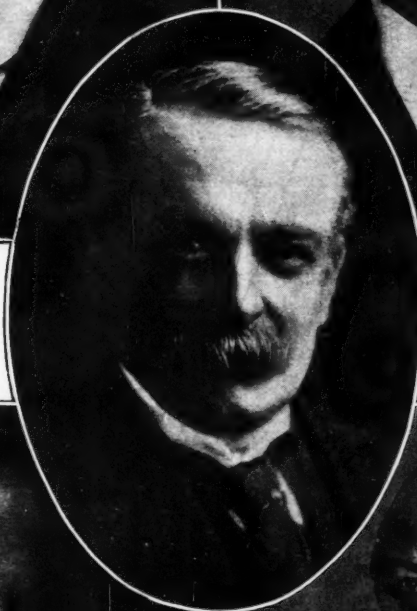
As the body of his support was Tory, Lloyd George made his new Ministry with a majority of Tory ministers. For his war council of five he selected Curzon, Milner, of South Africa; Bonar Law, the Tory leader, and Henderson, a representative of Labor, whose presence in this council was the guarantee of Labor support. To succeed Grey he named Balfour, a choice which



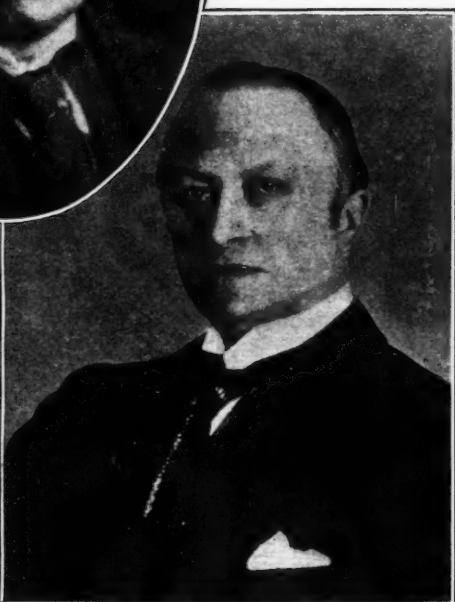
ARTHUR HENDERSON
(Without portfolio)



ANDREW BONAR LAW
(Chancellor of the Ex-
chequer)



LORD MILNER
(Without portfolio)



LORD CURZON
(Leader in the House of Lords)

PREMIER LLOYD GEORGE AND HIS FOUR COLLEAGUES OF THE NEW BRITISH WAR COUNCIL

roused much protest, but stood. Actually the selections outside the five were uninteresting as they were unimportant, although the fact that Lord Robert Cecil remains as Blockade Minister is interesting to Americans.

Ejected from office, Asquith gathered his Liberal followers about him, reasserted his leadership of the party, announced his loyalty to the new Ministry and his intention to give it all possible aid to win the war and thus passed to the Opposition. The experiment of a Coalition Ministry had failed, and Britain was once more facing the condition of party government with a Tory and Labor coalition in the saddle, with the majority—but by no means all—the Liberals in the Opposition, and with the Irish reserving their decision until Lloyd George should show his hand in the matter of Home Rule.

And once the crisis had passed there was manifest the well-nigh unanimous desire of the British people that the new Prime Minister should have his chance. He came to power borne on the wave of national discontent with British failure, so far, to achieve the results that British effort and British sacrifice should have brought. He expressed in a very concrete way the British determination to win the war and to win it at the cost of ultimate sacrifice and endless effort. He came to power because the British people were tired of leaders who did not lead and because they saw in this Welshman the hope of a leader who would lead them to victory.

It would be foolish to mistake the mood that Lloyd George expresses or miss the fact that this mood will carry the war on for many a long month and perhaps years, if Germany does not make those surrenders which the British people deem essential to British safety and permanent peace. England is not in a peace mood, and the German proposal for peace comes at the hour when the British have cleared their official decks for action and have resolved to fight, as Lloyd George recently told an American correspondent—"for a knockout."

Had the German peace proposals come a month earlier, a fortnight earlier, they might have had a different hearing in Britain, but I do not believe England will accept anything but a "victorious peace" until Lloyd George has had his chance and the new British army has fought one more full campaign in France.

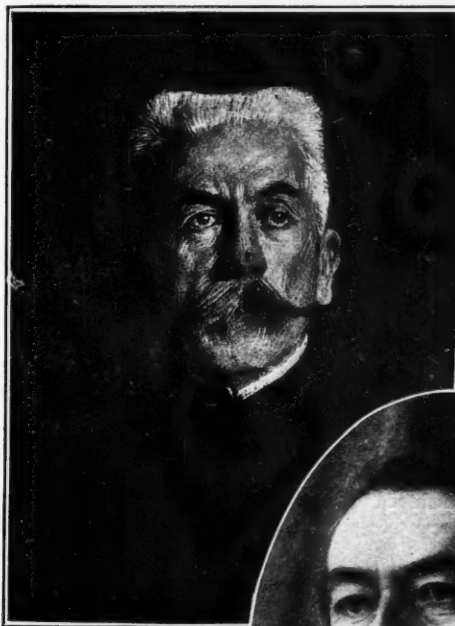
VIII. FRANCE ALSO MOVES

In France, too, there was a change; Briand named a new war council, comparable to that of Britain, and Joffre was at last retired from supreme field command, the last of the commanders of August, 1914, to disappear. In his place Nivelle was named, and Nivelle was known to the outside world only as the man who retook Douaumont a few weeks ago. To-day he is also known as the general who won the later success at Verdun, which Paris is now celebrating as the auspicious evidence of the worth of the new commander.

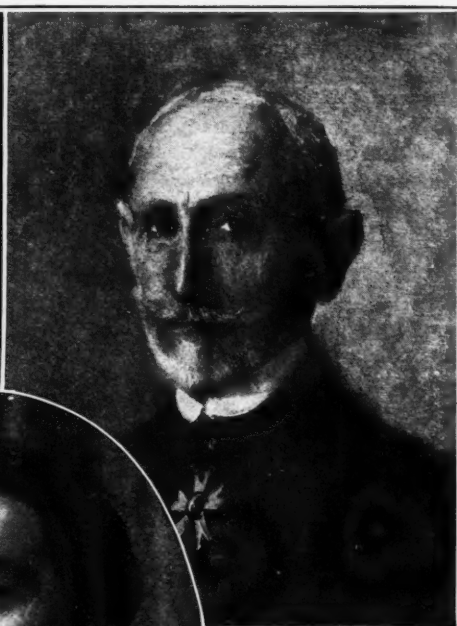
But for the world the passing of Joffre is more significant. His victory of the Marne remains the great incident of the war. No other of the generals who commanded national forces will carry with him into retirement, or into the dignified retirement of his promotion as technical adviser of the military staff, the prestige of such a success. Moltke had lost the first campaign in France, Falkenhayn had lost Verdun, Field-Marshal French had lost everything that a general could lose, and had been the great failure of the war. The Grand Duke Nicholas departed after a long series of disasters. But Joffre goes after having won the great triumph of the war and maintained his victory, even at the bitterly contested field of Verdun.

When I was in France a few months ago men said to me that Joffre was tired. There was a general feeling that the strain of the long service had told upon him. There was a distinct feeling that there were discrepancies in the story of Verdun, as told officially and as known to the army, which were not unimportant or without significance. Had Verdun fallen I think Joffre would have gone long ago. But Verdun held. Hence Joffre stayed until the Somme offensive had come and gone, for it must be regarded as ended now. Then France turned to a new man and a younger man,—a man, to be sure, whom Joffre had found and made, so far as giving a soldier a chance makes him.

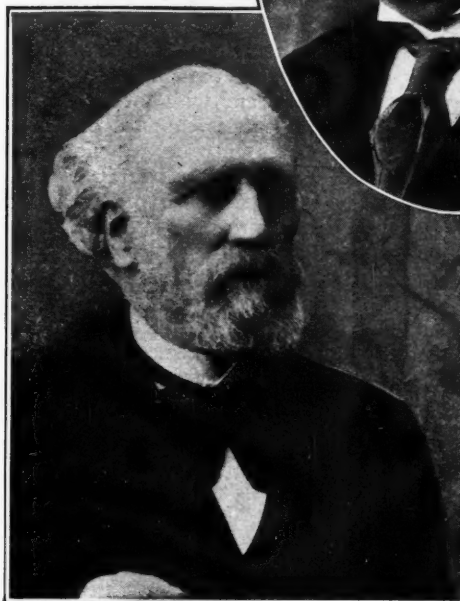
I think there would have been more confidence in the outside world if Petain or Foch had succeeded Joffre, but we are told Petain declined, which is not the best of signs, and after all, despite his great successes at the Marne and in Flanders, Foch has never quite done anything in later months to compare with La Fere-Champe-



GENERAL LYAUTEY
(Minister of War)



ADMIRAL LACAZE
(Minister of Marine)



ALEXANDRE RIBOT
(Minister of Finance)



ALBERT THOMAS
(Minister of Munitions and Transportation)

PREMIER BRIAND AND HIS FOUR COLLEAGUES OF THE NEW FRENCH WAR COUNCIL

noise and perhaps there is a feeling that, as the best field general France has produced, his best place is in the field.

To me the selection of Lyautey to succeed Roques as Minister of War is even more significant than the selection of Nivelle. Lyautey is the thing that France has feared most for half a century. He is a strong man, he is the sort of leader that makes a dictator in critical times, and the French politicians have known it. In Morocco he has performed miracles, and the Germans, who know everything, showed their sentiments toward Lyautey, by burning his house at Crevic, when they invaded Lorraine in the first days of the war. Roques, whom Lyautey succeeds, was a good corps commander, who never aspired to any political power and was merely the representative of Joffre in the ministry. Gallieni, who preceded Roques, did not make a happy record and lost rather than gained prestige; he was in the last months a desperately sick man, as his death soon after his retirement clearly showed.

Lyautey has had great experience in Africa, he has conquered, organized, and held this great empire with a ridiculously small force. Some day his achievement in the Shereefian Empire will be reckoned as rivalling that of any of the greater British pro-consuls. But today he has a greater task, which will call for new genius and greater skill.

In retiring Joffre the French Ministry yielded to the demand that a younger man should undertake the task, that there should be new energy, in a sense the French people had begun to feel with reference to Joffre as the North felt toward McClellan in his later period. But, of course, the achievement of Joffre was incomparably greater than that of our general. Yet in France, as in Britain, there was manifest in December a new demand that the war be pushed, not a weariness of the war that spoke of the willingness to make peace, but a feeling that the protraction of the struggle was bringing terrible hardships and that delay had become

the enemy, not of Germany but of the foes of Germany.

As I close this article it remains apparent that Briand is in danger and his fall is far from unlikely, although the latest triumph at Verdun may save him. But in France, as in Britain, the determination to win is still the predominating emotion, and I see no evidence that the German peace proposal will appeal to any Frenchman who does not find in it the promise of a restoration of Alsace-Lorraine.

I have not the space left to deal with the recent Russian crisis, which ended in the retirement of Sturmer, held to be a friend of peace and Germany, and the succession of Trepoff, a representative of the people and of the national determination to push the war to victory. It is believed that Sturmer listened to suggestions from Berlin of a separate peace. It is certain that these proposals were rejected by the nation, and we have had, since the German peace proposals were made, the emphatic declaration of the Russian Duma that the peace proposals be ignored, coupled with the announcement that Russia will fight on to victory.

Thus at the moment Germany suggests peace we see the control of the policy and purposes of her three great opponents passing into hands determined to carry on the war and with all three of her great foes reorganizing their ministries and replacing their generals, with the plain purpose to push the campaign and with not the smallest suggestion that peace is expected or desired on any but terms that only a victor can dictate. To me these crises in Britain, France, and Russia are the strongest reasons why the German proposals will fail to end the war, rather, I think they will accelerate the pace of the fighting, when spring comes, and it is possible to move in France and Belgium again. And henceforth the part that Britain will play in the coalition against Germany will increase steadily, in my judgment, it may become commanding, if as many Englishmen believe, Great Britain has found in Lloyd George another Pitt.

FRANCIS JOSEPH AND HIS REIGN

BY ELBERT FRANCIS BALDWIN

A FEW years ago at Karlsbad I saw Francis Joseph for the last time. One thinks of crowned heads as showy and self-conscious. What a contrast he was! Here



FRANCIS JOSEPH WHEN HE ASCENDED THE THRONE IN 1848

was a ruler, simple, unostentatious, unassuming, with the air of being still a student, but giving a distinct impression of reserved power. Perhaps these qualities underlay the necessary tact to rule over a dozen different nationalities, who have really but one common point, "Kaisertreu"; for fidelity to the Emperor seems to be the one thing that

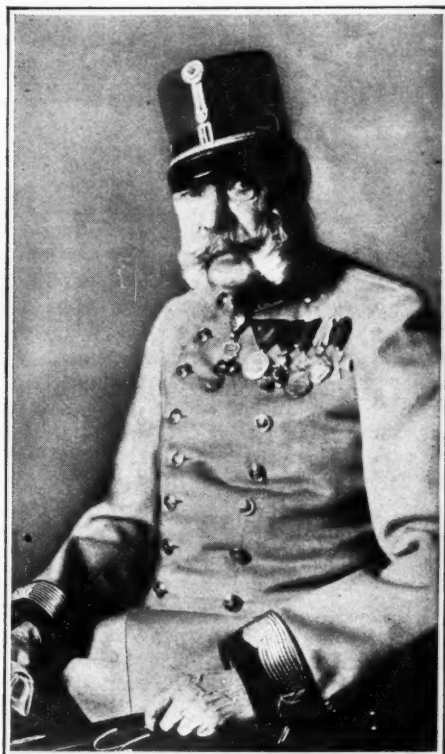
keeps together Czech and German, Hungarian and Pole.

Francis Joseph walked along, bowing to right and left, with none of that flamboyant salutation which one sometimes sees in other prominent people. Why, in appearance and manner you might take him for some quiet old gentleman, suddenly imprisoned by a crowd of soldiers, he calmly going to his prison surrounded by his gorgeous captors. For nothing can be more splendidly esthetic than are the Austrian uniforms. Some good genius must have presided over the choice of colors for the army. When they are blended as they were at Karlsbad, because the chiefs of many regiments had come together, the effect was like that of the sun shining through a stained glass window.

In the midst of all this glory was the Emperor, yet, suddenly to us no longer the Emperor. Somehow he had come to impress us only as a man, and a man of sorrows at that. No one could look upon that fine old face without remembering that this man's brother, who had become Emperor Maximilian of Mexico, was executed at

Queretaro; that his only son, Rudolph, the Austrian Crown Prince, was either killed or a suicide at Meyerling; that his wife, the Empress Elizabeth, was assassinated by a madman at Geneva.

And there was not only the death of his kin to leave those lines in the old man's face. There was also disgrace. Himself, perhaps not without failings, the head of the Hapsburg House, what must his dignity have endured in the scandal after scandal which marked that house, scandals so marked indeed as to win for Francis Ferdinand the name of being "the least offensive of all the Archdukes."



A PHOTOGRAPH OF THE LATE EMPEROR TAKEN EARLY IN THE WAR

All these things came to mind as the Austrian Kaiser passed by, and when he had gone, and we sat down again to our restaurant



CROWN PRINCE RUDOLPH

table, it was interesting to listen to the comment of his subjects. Only rarely did they refer to him as monarch; nearly always as man. We heard frequently: "Das ist ein Mann."

HE KNEW HIS PEOPLE

Thus, on the personal side, during the sixty-eight years of his reign the Austrian Emperor—who has now died at the age of eighty-six—gave to the world a grateful sensation for, in a self-advertising age like ours, he was one to whom a tendency to pose and a liking for the limelight were equally foreign. The result was what might follow in any country—a popular and deep-seated respect for the monarch. This was evident, no matter where we saw him—at the Hofburg at Vienna; or going to and from Schönbrunn, his estate outside the city; or in his summer home at Ischl, in the Salzkammergut; or in some provincial town, like the one above mentioned, where, though on Bohemian soil, the Kaiser was acclaimed, as was his due, by subjects of many racial sorts, who all had confidence in him.

They had this confidence because he trusted them. This was well shown during a Vienna riot. He refused to order out the troops to quell the uprising, giving as a rea-



THE LATE EMPEROR IN MIDDLE LIFE

son to his surprised Minister of War: "Man, you must be crazy. I know my Viennese—*meine Wienerkinder*—and that is not the



EMPRESS ELIZABETH

way to deal with them." The Kaiser, a *Wienerkind* himself, won out. Instead of sending the rough Croat and Pole soldiery, as the

unsympathetic War Minister had proposed, he sent the military band of the regiment called the Hoch- und -Deutschmeister, a Viennese regiment, and, what is more, the orchestra went without escort and unarmed. The riot broke up in dancing and gaiety. Francis Joseph did indeed understand his Viennese.

The Viennese also understood him, and one reason why was because for centuries Vienna had been accustomed to the rigid etiquette of the most exclusive court in Europe. One who sees the apparently free-and-easy, light-hearted Viennese may not realize the unbending ideas of precedence which underlie the social observances of the Austrian court. This was illustrated two years ago, when the Emperor refused to allow the Archduke Francis Ferdinand's dead wife to share her husband's grave simply because she had not been of imperial birth. The Emperor had the Hapsburg instinct for dynastic control. The other day he insisted upon a prince of his house, if not himself, as the ruler of the new kingdom which Austria and Germany proposed to be set

up in what had been Russian Poland. With such ideas of family domination, it was natural for him to dream of a benevolent autocracy imposed by the Hapsburgs rather than of their acknowledgment of normal popular development toward freedom.

And yet, paradoxical as it may seem, alongside this aristocratic Hapsburgism was their Kaiser's democratic desire to serve in the ranks and the Viennese appreciated this equally. He always slept upon a common army cot; he rose at dawn like any other soldier; his fare was their fare, and, when an assassin wounded him, his first words were: "I am only sharing the lot of my brave soldiers." Even the Socialists felt this and were sometimes dubbed "the Imperial and Royal Socialists" because of the respect they showed not only for a monarchical form of government but for the person of the Emperor.

His character could not fail to have an influence on the character of the country, and in especial, because the late reign was longer than that of any other modern monarch except Louis XIV—indeed, actively longer than that of Louis; the French ruler was a child when called to the throne. One

naturally compares Louis XIV's and Queen Victoria's long reigns to Francis Joseph's. But neither Louis nor Victoria had to face the Austrian's trials.

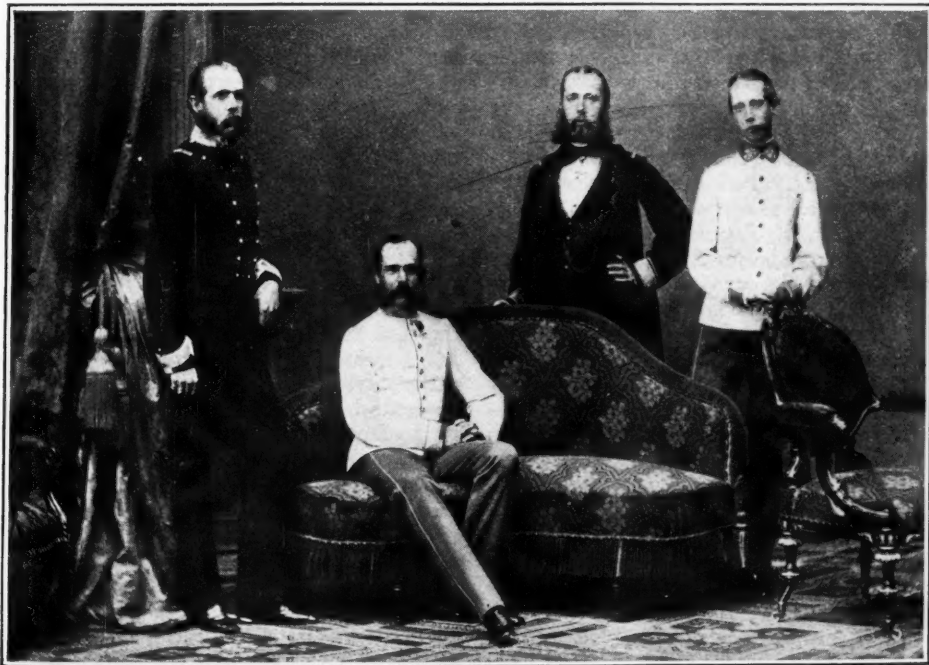
A RECORD OF INTERNATIONAL BLUNDERS

How is Austria-Hungary different to-day from what it was in 1848 when Francis Joseph began to rule?

Let us consider first its external relations. As to the Empire's boundaries, in 1848 Francis Joseph was lord over two-thirds of North Italy. Now Italy is free—unless we wish to except the Trentino, the mountain-land jutting into the Italian northern frontier. Then, save for the Dalmatian coast, there was no development to the south. Now, for the North Italian loss, there is the offset in size and strategic importance of the former Turkish provinces of Bosnia and the Herzegovina.

The foreign policy of the reign began in an international storm and started with a blunder. It closed in a greater storm and with a greater blunder.

The first blunder was the urging of the powers by Austria (which then had perhaps the best army in Europe) to forbid or at



FRANCIS JOSEPH AND HIS BROTHERS

(From left to right: Archduke Charles Louis, the father of Archduke Francis Ferdinand, who was assassinated in June, 1914; Emperor Francis Joseph; Maximilian, Emperor of Mexico; Archduke Louis Victor)

least to hamper the unification of Italy. Though the powers were mostly unfriendly to Austria she was at first successful in preventing unification, as the battle of Novara (1849) showed, but vengeance followed in her loss of Lombardy, ten years later, and of Venetia in 1866.

The realization of these losses, added to that of the territory previously taken by Prussia, impelled Austria to look southward for territorial offsets and finally brought her to the ambition of possessing a port on the Egean Sea and the connecting Serbo-Macedonian strip between it and her frontier. To gain this Austria depended on her partnership with Germany and Italy in the Triple Alliance. She knew that she could rely on German backing; for as the venture would benefit German trade even more than Austrian, Austria would merely be Germany's vanguard. And Austria hoped to induce Italy also, for value received, to aid in controlling the country to the south.

The diplomatic history now revealed by a former Italian Prime Minister, shows how summarily Italy declined to enter into such a venture in 1913. The next year came the assassination, at Serbian instigation, of the Emperor's nephew and heir to the throne, the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, to bring a better excuse for aggression. The Emperor was pierced domestically and politically. The sequence of Hapsburg succession had been broken. A youth of the third generation, Charles Francis Joseph, was now Crown Prince. Politically the shock was no less severe. Disdaining Serbian attempts at settlement, the Austrian Kaiser yielded to the demand of the jingo element in his government, and declared war on Serbia even though he must have known that such a war would precipitate a European conflagration. This was the greater blunder which marked the end of the Emperor's reign. It seems incredible that one who had learned the lesson of events during that reign should, at its end, countenance such a deed.

THE EMPIRE "A RAMSHACKLE HOUSE"

Now as to internal relations. How is Austria-Hungary different from what it was in 1848? Among others, in two ways. Then there was no universal, direct and equal suffrage in Austria: now there is. Then Hungary was the under-dog: now she is an equal partner.

In its domestic policy, Francis Joseph's

reign exhibits an apparently greater breadth of view than does the foreign policy. Yet the Empire is still, as Bismarck said, "a ramshackle house built with bad bricks," even if we cannot quite agree with him that it is "only held together with German cement." The ramshackle structure is composed, among other lesser races, of some twenty-four million Slavs (Poles, Slovaks, Czechs, Croats, Slovenes, Serbs, Ruthenians); about twelve million Germans; of some ten million Hungarians, and about four million Latins (Rumans and Italians)—certainly a confusion of races and tongues; exclusive of dialects there are ten distinct languages spoken in the Empire.

Who could weld such a mass into a political whole?—a mass of races, not only linguistically different, but cherishing mutual animosities and nationalistic notions enough to destroy any expectation of imperial unity. In his desire to compel the making of this political whole, it was even charged that Francis Joseph used one race to crush another and some races to crush others. A truer statement would be that, when by nationalistic agitations a representative government repeatedly broke down, he had temporarily to resume central executive powers long ago willingly surrendered. In this he was able to turn popular attention from racial aggressions to social and economic questions. His Empire hung together, not so much because of the short-sighted and self-willed races which compose it, as because of the personal authority and prestige of the monarch who reigned over it.

EARLY MISTAKES IN HUNGARY

The reign began badly enough with the young Emperor's ruthless action after the revolution (1848) of the Magyars, for a thousand years the ruling race in Hungary. Few races show intenser conviction of nationality. This has always enabled them to control a numerically slightly stronger total of other races in Hungary—Rumans, Germans, Slovaks, Croats, Serbs, Ruthenians. Magyar intolerance toward subject races was, however, no justification for the retribution dealt by the Austrian Kaiser, King of Hungary, aided by Russia, to the Magyar leaders and in long depriving Hungary of her ancient dependencies, rights, and liberties. What a contrast to the ruler's later tact and to present-day relations between the two halves of the Dual Monarchy!

THE DEMAND FOR AN INDEPENDENT BOHEMIAN STATE

Also in his relations with other parts of the Empire, especially with Bohemia, Galicia, and Bosnia, Francis Joseph showed himself increasingly astute. Not that Bohemia, for instance, has achieved the degree of self-government which is her due. The Bohemians have had but a qualified independence; they have seen with increasing distrust a gradual centralization at Vienna, thus endangering the agreement to maintain the rights of the Bohemian state. The Revolution of 1848, suppressed at Budapest, the Hungarian capital, was also suppressed at Prague, the Bohemian capital, and absolutism reigned until the loss of Lombardy in 1859 compelled the granting of a constitutional régime to avert further disasters. But Bohemian expectations were never realized as were Hungarian.

The present war has added bitterness because the government did not consult the Bohemian deputies in Parliament before taking hostile action with regard to Serbia as it consulted the Hungarian deputies. The reason was because in its new enterprise the government could not rely upon the fidelity of any Slav deputy. No wonder then that the Czechs (the Slav Bohemians, four-fifths of the total number) demand a really independent state. In other directions, however, there has been much concession to the Czechs. Any one may see this who visits Prague and notes the old German street names now set forth exclusively in Czech. In all administrative and judicial transactions the Czech language is now on an equality with German and a knowledge of it is required of all public functionaries.

CONCESSIONS TO THE POLES

As to Galicia, the equally marked concessions made in the use of the Polish language are astounding as compared with conditions in either Prussian or Russian Poland. In those regions everything possible must be done in the German or Russian languages, but in Galicia, Austrian Poland, a child

may have his entire education from the kindergarten to his graduation at the university without ever using a word other than Polish. There is liberty of the press. Their great men have occupied most important government positions; one, Count Goluchowski, was long Foreign Minister, and another,

Count Badeni, Prime Minister. Hence the Galician Poles are not as keen for the reintegration of Poland as are the Poles in Prussian and Russian Poland, whose liberties have been abridged more seriously.

A REDEEMED BOSNIA

In no part of the world, however, has there been a greater recent advance toward civilization than in Bosnia or in Herzegovina. No matter what our views may be as to the Emperor's fealty to the Treaty of Berlin (which had assigned these provinces to his military protection) in finally annexing that region, so far as economic justification

is concerned, he held a trump card. He had redeemed the region from misrule, politically, economically, and educationally. The only reminders of the old Turkish domination are the red fezes and the short Oriental jackets of the Bosnian contingents in the army.

The provinces now actually enjoy practical self-government, their basis of election being on the same ratio as that observed in electing the legislatures of other provinces. Unlimited forced labor has given place to a tax levied on the basis of a ten years' harvest. Even as late as the '70's Bosnia's only communication with the outside world was the Austrian Consulate's weekly postcard; now highways, railways, telegraphs and telephones have made the region accessible. The former illiteracy has been largely eradicated, for many schools have been built and efficiently operated; industries are also taught in them. But a still more signal triumph has been in the Department of Justice. Under the rule of to-day there has not even been a train robbery. The Bosnian redemption is perhaps the most notable feature of Francis Joseph's reign. And yet, in the capital of Bosnia was to occur a murder, the proximate cause of the present war!



ARCHDUKE FRANCIS FERDINAND,
WHOSE MURDER OCCASIONED THE
PRESENT WAR

AUSTRIA FACES THE FUTURE

BY T. LOTHROP STODDARD

[The following article, like the one ending on the preceding page, has been written from the standpoint of direct and intimate personal knowledge of Austro-Hungarian affairs.—THE EDITOR.]

IF Germany has risked her status as a world power on the outcome of the present war, her chief partner has even more at stake. For Austria-Hungary the issue is literally one of life and death. Were the Entente Allies able freely to work their will in the re-settlement of Europe, the Dual Monarchy would disappear from the roster of the world's nations. In that case Italy and a Greater Serbia would between them shear away all the southwestern provinces, Rumania would tear off Transylvania and bite deep into the Hungarian plain, while giant Russia would devour Galicia and weld the Slav populations of Bohemia, Moravia, and northern Hungary into a Czech-Slovak state dependent upon the Russian Empire.

In that case there would remain only the German-speaking provinces of the upper Danube to Vienna, and the restricted Magyar block in the central Danubian plain of Hungary. Neither of these latter groups could long maintain themselves as independent entities. The Austrian Germans would swiftly gravitate to the main body of their race in the Teutonic homeland. As

to the Magyars, lost in the heart of the vast Hungarian plain, cut off from the sea, and shielded by no natural barriers from a constricting ring of implacable race-enemies, they would ultimately either disappear altogether or sink into lasting insignificance as the humble satellite of some powerful neighbor.

Such would be Austria - Hungary's fate in case of a complete Allied victory. But it is becoming daily more apparent that no such sweeping Allied victory is going to take place. The marvelous reserve energy and ferocious driving-power just displayed by the Central Empires in their recent smashing of Rumania make it highly improbable that the mid-European block can be shattered. The war may go on for a long time yet, but the eventual outcome looks more and more like some sort of a draw—stalemate, say, with Central Europe holding most of the pawns.

But this means that Austria will live; that she has a future. May we not see in the recent change of monarchs an omen of the morrow? The closing months of the late Emperor Francis Joseph's life were



Photograph by Central News

CHARLES FRANCIS JOSEPH, THE NEW EMPEROR OF AUSTRIA

gloomy in the extreme. Everywhere Austria's enemies stood flushed and eager, and when in late August Rumania burst across the Transylvania mountains it seemed for a moment like the beginning of the end.

Yet Francis Joseph's last hours were cheered by glad tidings from the Ruman border, and his youthful successor ascends the throne amid the tumult of the joy bells ringing out the capture of Bucharest. Never since the war began have Austria's prospects looked so fair. Her most implacable enemy, Serbia, the "Balkan Piedmont," seeking to wrest away the whole southwest for a "Yugoslav" Empire, lies prostrate in the dust. Rumania, the other Balkan aspirant for Hapsburg spoils, is hastening swiftly down the road to ruin. Italy, the would-be ravisher of Austria's seaboard, is stuck fast amid the grey limestone tangle of the Adriatic coast plateaux and makes no real progress after twenty months of desperate war. As to Russia, the Bear still prowls vainly before the Carpathian mountain-wall, while further to the north Austrian soldiers keep their cantonments far out in the Russian plains. Resolutely holding off Slav and Italian foes to east and west, Austria and her allies have forged a grip on the Balkans and Near East apparently not to be broken.

THE NEW EMPEROR

What of the new monarch, Charles Francis Joseph, whom fate has appointed to guide the Empire's brightening destinies? A young man of thirty, comparatively little is known about his deeper tendencies and capacities, yet that little is all in his favor. The son of Archduke Otto and Princess Maria of Saxony, Charles Francis' upbringing was a wise and well-directed one. His Saxon mother, a sensible woman, determined that her son should not be reared in the hot-house isolation which has proved so detrimental to many Hapsburg princes. Accord-



THE EMPRESS AND HER CHILDREN

ingly, the young Charles Francis was sent to one of the large Viennese boys' schools, where he rubbed elbows with middle- and working-class lads and thus acquired an early sense of this world's realities not to be gained from the preceptions of courtly tutors in the medieval atmosphere of some distant country chateau. His youth and early manhood were likewise passed in surroundings calculated to confirm his practical sense and grasp of reality.

Entering the army, Charles Francis was carefully kept from the light distractions of Vienna, passing his time in distant garrison towns of the Empire. He was not spared or favored, and, since the Austrian officers' corps is permeated with traditions of hard work and plain living, he grew to maturity surrounded by serious, duty-loving men. During those years he clearly showed that personal charm and capacity for making friends which he has displayed ever since

his first appearance as a fair-haired baby with his nurse-maid in the Prater, the great Viennese public park. In fact, his military career gained him the good-will not only of his army associates but also of the Polish and Ruthenian populations of Galicia, the province where he spent most of his time. His marriage with Princess Zita of Bourbon-Parma (apparently a genuine love-match) was well received by public opinion, and the two sons who have already blessed this union have firmly consolidated the direct line of succession to the Hapsburg throne. Charles Francis' private life has been gratifyingly uneventful. No breath of scandal has touched him, and he has passed his most recent years at Vienna busy mastering the technique of statecraft and apparently contented in a well-ordered, harmonious family life.

Such, according to the best evidence, is Charles Francis Joseph, Austria's new Emperor. Not a genius; rather, a level-headed, likable young man, ready to work and willing to learn. Yet this is the very reason why his subjects should be best satisfied. Such a monarch is a vast improvement over the late Heir-Apparent, Francis Ferdinand. The murdered Archduke was certainly an unusually strong personality, endowed with marked talents and possessed of high-soaring ideas. But all these gifts were nullified by a mental twist amounting almost to insanity and by the handicap of a ravaging disease. Such a personality enthroned would have been a genuine peril for the Empire, which needs for its crying problems of reconstruction primarily tact, common-sense, and wise counsel. And these the young Emperor seems well fitted to give.

DEALING WITH THE SERBS

Austria's problems of reconstruction are, of course, both many and grave. First and foremost stands the multiple question of nationalities. The most pressing phase of this vital issue is the much-discussed "Southern Slav Question"—the proximate cause of the present European War. Should the Central Empires retain their present Balkan supremacy, however, Austria-Hungary would have a golden opportunity to solve the Southern Slav Question in accordance with the permanent safety and integrity of the Empire.

A Balkan triumph of the Central Powers means that Serbia will not be restored as an independent state; it probably means that

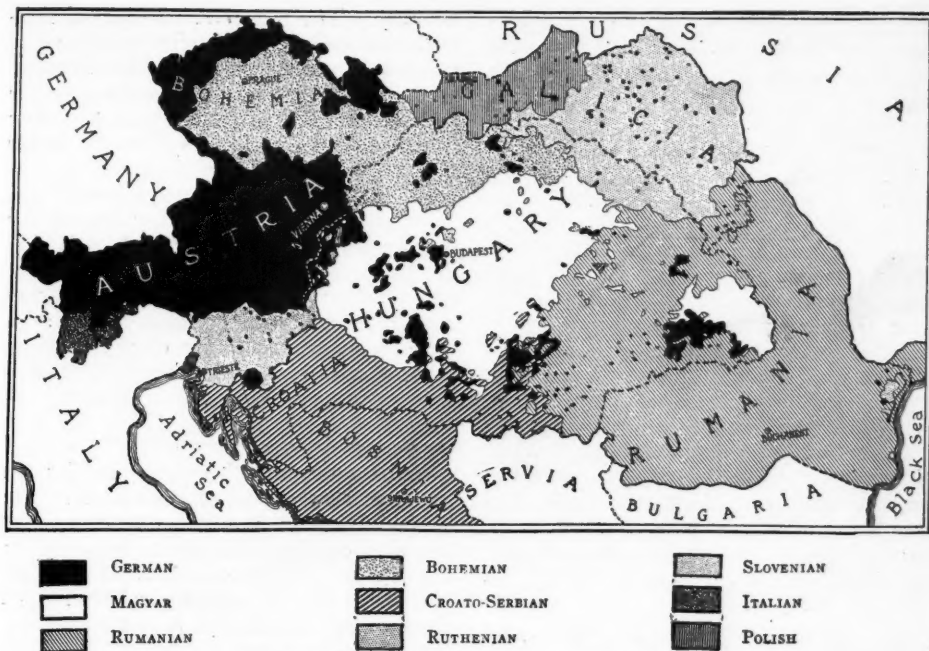
the Serbian territories will be divided between Austria-Hungary and Bulgaria, Bulgaria taking the mixed Serbo-Bulgar populations of Macedonia and southern Serbia, Austria-Hungary taking the pure Serb populations of the north. In that case, with forbearance and constructive statesmanship, the still plastic Serb stock would in all probability ultimately fuse with the closely kindred Bulgarian and Croatian cultures. Certainly, as regards the Austrian phase of the problem, the Croat-Slovene portion of the South Slav folk would have a decisive numerical and cultural preponderance over the Serb element. Of the 7,000,000 South Slav inhabitants of Austria-Hungary not more than 2,000,000 can be classed as "Serbs," the Croat-Slovene majority being Roman Catholic in religion and Western in culture, in opposition to the Serbs, with their Greek, Orthodox faith and their Byzantine cultural past.

The large Mohammedan population of Bosnia-Herzegovina (South Slav in blood) strongly prefers Austrian to Serbian rule. Under these circumstances, the incorporation of war-ravaged, depopulated north Serbia into the Hapsburg dominions could not well redress the balance. Of course, Austrian statesmanship will have to allow these peoples full cultural rights and will be obliged to evolve a generous scheme of political devolution. The tyrannical Magyar grip over Croatia-Slavonia, especially, will have to be broken. Otherwise, the very union of the South Slavs under the Hapsburg sceptre will fuse them into an irreconcilable entity more formidable than before. But the horrors of the present war have indubitably taught Austrian statesmen many things, and we have no reason to believe that the Empire will deliberately fly in the face of Providence when vouchsafed a genuine opportunity of solving the greatest peril to its future.

Of course all this is cruel tragedy for the Serbs—but it is the way of the world. For many years Serbia frankly aspired to be the "Balkan Piedmont" and worked to disrupt Austria-Hungary in order to build from its ruins a great Yugoslav Empire. For both states the issue was thenceforth one of life or death, and in such implacable duels the loser must pay the ultimate forfeit.

SETTLING WITH ITALY AND RUMANIA

The South Slav Question is intimately connected with the Italian problem, but here



THE POLYGLOT EMPIRE OF THE HAPSBURGS

(The differently shaded sections of this map—see key above—show the variegated racial complexion of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and explain some of the problems which face its government)

again a solution not incompatible with Austria-Hungary's future seems clearly possible. The wisest way of settling the Austro-Italian feud would apparently be Austria's cession of the Trentino district of South Tyrol to Italy in return for a thoroughgoing Italian renunciation of all claims to Austria's Adriatic coast and to Albania.

The Rumanian problem is less easy. A continuance of the Austro-German Balkan hegemony of course means that Rumania will in future be within the Central European orbit. Nevertheless, Rumania's incorporation with Austria-Hungary is practically unthinkable; the country is too large, compact and culturally distinct. Neither can the Rumanian inhabitants of Transylvania and the Hungarian plain be united even to a friendly Rumania, since these folk are inextricably mixed up with Magyar, Slav, and German populations. Rumania has just gambled for this solution at Austrian expense, and she has apparently lost. She will have to reconcile herself to this fact. But Austrian statesmen must realize that they can never hope for a dependable ally in Rumania unless Austria not only shows generosity to her beaten foe but also grants

cultural liberty to the Rumanian-speaking population destined to remain under Hapsburg sway.

Here again the Magyars will have to give up their tyrannous practices. Of course much heart-burning will ensue. Yet the Magyars have of late been sitting in experience's dear school. For the past two and one-half years they have been shedding their very heart's blood in atonement for the past, and they know how narrowly they have escaped race-death at the hands of their infuriated Slav and Ruman enemies. Peace should accordingly find the Magyars in a reasonable mood. If by some mischance this be not the case, neither Austria nor Germany is going to allow Magyar chauvinism to foment Slav and Ruman irredentist ulcers in the Central European body.

THE NORTHEASTERN FRONTIER UNCERTAIN

The settlement of the Polish and Ruthenian questions depends entirely upon the outcome of the struggle with Russia, and this struggle is as yet so far from conclusion that but little can be predicted. If Russia should be decisively beaten the consequence would be the erection of Polish and "Ukrainian"

buffer States to which the Polish and Ruthene portions of Galicia and Bukowina would be respectively assigned. On the other hand, a compromise peace with Russia might leave Austria-Hungary's northeastern frontier much as it is now, or might even result in certain rectifications in Russia's favor.

The possibility of a new "Ukrainia" involves much more momentous consequences than are generally supposed. The 4,000,000 Ruthenes of Eastern Galicia and the Bukowina are merely the western outpost of a much larger racial group lying mainly within the Russian Empire, where they are known as "Little Russians." These "Little Russians" number nearly 25,000,000 and occupy a great tract of southern Russia. Their historical center is the city of Kiev, and despite centuries of Muscovite persecution they have succeeded in retaining their racial identity, fortified as they have been by a separate language and proud memories of a rich cultural past.

THE QUESTION OF CZECH AUTONOMY

Perhaps the most serious of Austria's nationality problems is that known as the "Northern Slav Question"—the problem of those kindred Slav peoples, the Czechs and Slovaks, who stretch in a broad belt through Bohemia, Moravia and the Carpathian uplands of northern Hungary. The Slovaks are still in a backward and inarticulate condition, but the Bohemian Czechs are probably the most energetic and capable branch of the whole Slav race. They have high ambitions and have long aimed at nothing short of an autonomous Bohemia with complete Czech political and cultural ascendancy. The war has unquestionably aroused strong separatist hopes in Bohemia, and there has been much incipient disloyalty kept down only by the sternest sort of martial law.

If the Central European block emerges unbroken from the present struggle, the Czechs will have to give up not only their separatist dreams, but also their more radical autonomist aspirations. There are several reasons which render an autonomous Czech State incompatible with the continued existence of an Austro-Hungarian or even a German Empire. In the first place, Bohemia is by no means exclusively Czech. There is a very large German minority (35 per cent.) as tenacious of its race-life and culture as the Czechs themselves. In the second place, Bohemia is almost surrounded by Germanic

territory. The Germans, whether of Austria or the German Empire, would never tolerate the destruction of the Teutonic minority in Bohemia and the erection in the midst of the Teutonic world of a solid Slav fortress almost severing the Germans of the Danube valley from the main body of the race. On the other hand, the Germans will be fatally shortsighted if they permit the intoxication of victory and rancor at Czech disloyalty to lead them into a refusal of generous guarantees to the Czechs for as wide a cultural and political liberty as is consistent with the future of the Austrian Empire and continued Central European solidarity.

INDUSTRIAL POSSIBILITIES

Perhaps the most hopeful omen for the future of all these nationalist problems is to be found in the economic development of Austria-Hungary. Modern industrialism has already largely transformed the Austrian half of the Dual Monarchy, and the normal effect of industrialization is to soften racial asperities within State frontiers. The interlacing of economic interests and the throwing together of polyglot working populations in great industrial centers tend to replace the parochial isolation and traditional particularism of the old agricultural existence by a wider outlook on life and by the growth of a spirit of coöperation for the attainment of common ends.

Should the Central Powers retain their Balkan ascendancy and their connection with the Near East, this industrializing process would be greatly accelerated. The existence of such vast fields for Austrian manufactures, capital, and enterprise would tend to relegate nationalist feuds to the background. We already have an object-lesson of what may be expected by what has already occurred in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The large Austro-Hungarian population which has poured into those backward provinces during the forty years of Austrian rule, though drawn from every corner of the Empire, has left its nationalist feuds behind and has co-operated heartily in the consciousness of a common imperial citizenship.

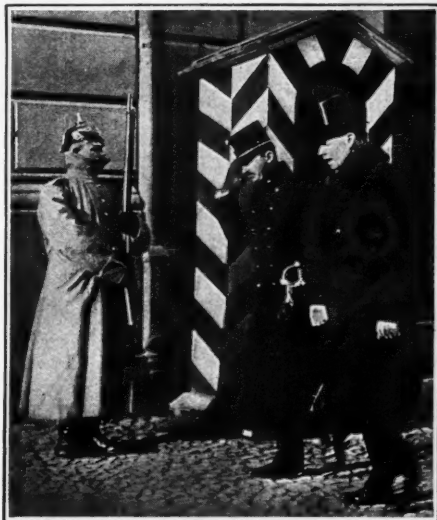
FORCES MAKING FOR UNION

For that matter, there are many old unifying factors in Austria-Hungary which have been too often overlooked in the dust and tumult of nationalist quarrels. Austria-Hungary is no mere crazy-quilt of ethnic

shreds and patches; her populations are not so many Germans, Slavs, Magyars and Italians, dropped down in sudden juxtaposition upon the map. The racial tendencies of all these nationalities have been profoundly modified by subtle bonds of long-standing political and economic union none the less powerful for being intangible.

High above all stands the House of Hapsburg with its effulgent aura of the "Holy Roman Empire" a mystic emanation which kindles in nearly every Austrian heart the fire of dynastic loyalty. Below, but in close connection with, this supreme symbol of Austrian imperial unity, stand those powerful forces, the nobility, the army, the bureaucracy and the Church—all supra-nationalist in that they contain members of every Austro-Hungarian race, all essentially "imperialist." Lastly, there exist whole populations of fanatical loyalists like the Tyrolese. All this engenders a powerful, even if unobtrusive, unitary spirit—that Austrian "atmosphere," so intangible yet so patent to every traveller as soon as he crosses the Austrian frontier. You cannot precisely lay your finger on it, but you know that it is there.

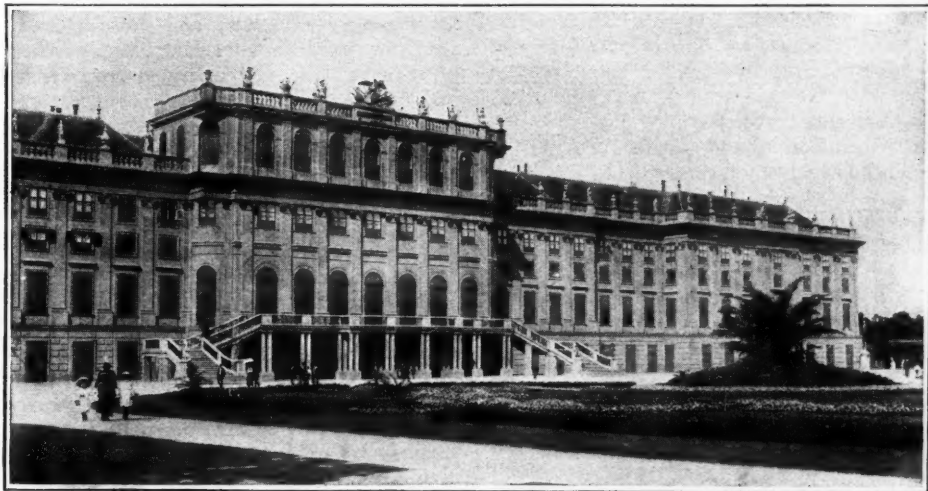
The Hapsburg Empire is thus not the creaking mechanism which many persons suppose. It is a true political organism with



Photograph by American Press Association

CHARLES FRANCIS OF AUSTRIA (WITH SWORD)
ARRIVING IN BERLIN ON A RECENT VISIT TO THE
GERMAN KAISER

a living soul. Of course, the Allies' sword may yet pierce its heart, but its death seems more unlikely with every passing day. Judged by all present omens, Austria-Hungary has a future consonant with its imperial past.



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THE SCHÖNBRUNN PALACE IN THE OUTSKIRTS OF VIENNA

(In this famous residence of the Austrian imperial family Emperor Francis Joseph was born and died. In this palace the Treaty of Schönbrunn between Austria and France following the victory of Napoleon at Wagram was signed on October 14, 1809)



EMPEROR WILLIAM INSPECTING SOME OF THE TROOPS OF HIS AUSTRIAN ALLY

GERMAN MILITARY LEADERS

STATISTICIANS agree that the armies of Germany and her allies are smaller in numbers than those of their enemies. Yet all commentators admit that Germany's military achievements are vastly greater than those of her enemies. With insignificant exceptions, German soil has remained free of invaders during two and a half years of war, while German armies have swept across Belgium and northeastern France, then Poland, then Serbia, and finally Rumania.

They have, besides, strengthened the forces

of Austria-Hungary, which seemed about to collapse in the second month of war; they have propped up the tottering Turk, so that he was able to resist the combined efforts of the Entente Powers, on land and sea, to force the Dardanelles; and more recently they have made a vital factor out of their other allies, the Bulgarians, whose armies had been so helpless in the second Balkan war (1913).

Teutonic military success has been variously ascribed to such factors as interior lines of communication and strategic railways, to proficiency of the soldier in the ranks, and to marked superiority in leadership.

German military leadership centers in the Kaiser, the imperial Minister of War, and the great German General Staff. By these men all the war moves are planned, sometimes down to minute details, and by them the army commanders are selected to carry out the plans. Germany's two great reverses—at the Marne and at Verdun—were each followed by the dismissal of the then Chief of the General Staff.

Very little is known of the make-up of this staff—except that it is a comparatively small group of highly trained men, each one a specialist in some particular branch of the business of waging war. When an offensive is



GEN. VON BISSING
(Belgium)

GEN. VON BESELER
(Poland)

GOVERNORS OF CONQUERED KINGDOMS

planned, or a defensive is forced, one of these men is charged with finding the troops, another arranges for their transportation, a third takes care of food and munition supplies, a fourth gives detailed information regarding physical geography, and so on.

The flexible battle lines of the East have presented opportunities for the shifting of armies, in the exercise of "strategy," not afforded by the rigid and shorter lines of the Western front. Thus Germany's three outstanding military figures of the present day — Hindenburg, Mackensen, and Falkenhayn — all gained their laurels at the expense of Russian, Serbian, and Rumanian opponents.

HINDENBURG: THE "IRON MAN"

We first heard of Hindenburg in the early weeks of the war, as being sent hurriedly to rescue East Prussia from the Russian invaders. He had been on the retired list, and was remembered chiefly as a "crank" on the subject of the Masurian Lake region as an ideal battleground. His pet theory worked out, however, and the rout of the Russian army at Tannenberg remains the greatest single disaster in the European war.

Field-Marshal Paul von Hindenburg became the national idol, was the principal figure in the campaign that won Poland in the summer of 1915, and at the present time is Chief of the German General Staff. Curiously enough, outside the German frontiers he is not considered to be a great strategist—except in the Lake region with which he is so familiar. In his second (and unsuccessful) Polish campaign, Hindenburg, it is charged, needlessly sacrificed his men; and in the third he permitted the Russians to retire, week after week, in perfect order.

Hindenburg is in his seventieth year. He is six feet tall, and of powerful frame. In common with other German generals, a conspicuous feature is his grey "military" mustache. By some observers he has been described as dignified in carriage and ladylike in manners; others have called him stern, harsh, and even cruel. He is quoted as believing that the more mercilessly one makes

war the more merciful he really is, for thereby he brings war to an end more quickly. He maintains that a commander in the field has no program, except to defeat the enemy that confronts him. Since his own elevation to head the General Staff, however, this veteran commander evidently has a program.

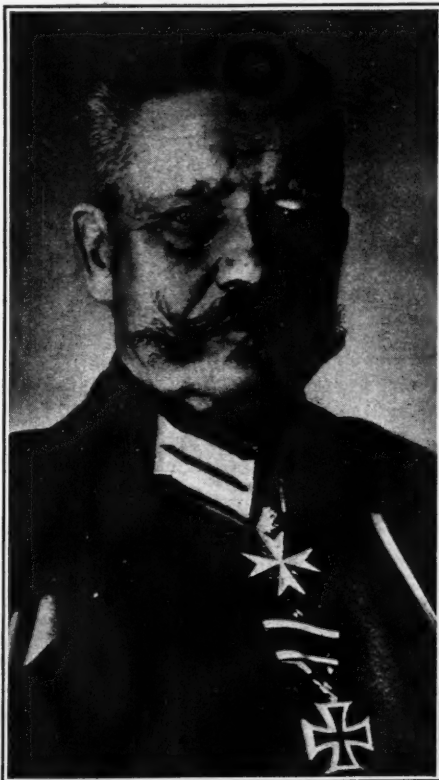
Emperor William himself (writing to Hindenburg last month, after successes in Rumania) gives us an insight into the way Germany's campaigns are planned:

You have again conducted great operations with rare prudence, . . . and you proposed to me with far-seeing thoughtfulness measures which directed the way to separately marching columns for a united blow. To you and your well-tried assistants of the General Staff the thanks of the Fatherland are again due.

The Kaiser conferred upon Hindenburg—"the first of my Generals"—the Grand Cross of the Iron Cross.

MACKENSEN: LEADER OF GREAT OFFENSIVES

One of Hindenburg's principal lieutenants in East Prussia had been August von Mackensen; and to him was assigned the leadership of Germany's next offensive. In May and June, 1915, Austro-German forces under his command met the Russians—who had ridden roughshod over the Austro-Hungarians and were threatening both Vienna and Budapest—and swept them out of Galicia.



FIELD-MARSHAL PAUL VON HINDENBURG, CHIEF OF THE GERMAN GENERAL STAFF



FIELD-MARSHAL AUGUST VON MACKENSEN

No sooner had that task been accomplished than von Mackensen from the south and Hindenburg from the north began a combined move which carried them not only to Warsaw but 200 miles beyond, occupying the whole of Russian Poland within two months (July 15—September 15, 1915). German official estimates placed the Russian losses in the two campaigns at 300,000 killed and wounded, and 1,100,000 prisoners.

With no rest and little time for preparation, Field-Marshal von Mackensen was placed in command of the main army which marched southward through Serbia in October and November, 1915, conquering a whole kingdom and opening a way for the relief of Turkey.

Hindenburg remained the popular idol; but Mackensen, in these three great campaigns during a single season, became recognized by most authorities as Germany's greatest military leader. To his army was given the honor of taking Bucharest, the Rumanian capital, on December 6 (Mackensen's sixtieth birthday), although other armies had made the more spectacular advance.

sen's sixtieth birthday), although other armies had made the more spectacular advance.

FALKENHAYN; ONCE PLANNED, NOW LEADS

The latest addition to the list of successful German commanders in the field is General Erich von Falkenhayn, who is fifty-five years old. He had been Minister of War when the great conflict began, and had assumed the office of Chief of the General Staff in October, 1914, when Count von Moltke retired after the German defeat at the battle of the Marne. For nearly two years Falkenhayn remained in that important office, when he, too, was dismissed after the German failure at Verdun. Falkenhayn, however, was immediately placed in command of an army to cooperate with Mackensen in the attempt to crush Rumania.

The brilliant staff officer proved to be an equally brilliant field officer. His was the task of ridding Transylvania (Hungary) of Rumanian invaders, of capturing the mountain passes, and of marching upon Bucharest from the north and west while Mackensen came from the east and south. To Falkenhayn, as Chief of Staff, had been given credit for planning the Serbian campaign. In his Rumanian operations, however, during No-



(C) American Press Association

GENERAL ERICH VON FALKENHAYN



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PRINCE RUPPRECHT OF BAVARIA

CROWN PRINCE FREDERICK
WILLIAM

DUKE ALBRECHT OF WÜRTTEMBERG

THE THREE ROYAL COMMANDERS ON THE WESTERN FRONT

vember and December, he rose to greater heights as a strategist. German experts declare that his swift advance upon Bucharest is without parallel in military history.

Another notable German military figure is General Erich von Ludendorff, Hindenburg's quartermaster-general and indispensable "right-hand man." It has been said that "Ludendorff plans and Hindenburg decides"; that "Ludendorff is Hindenburg's brain." The two are inseparable.

COMMANDERS ON THE WESTERN FRONT

Germany's western front, in France and Belgium, is divided into three sectors; and the three largest kingdoms of the empire—Prussia, Bavaria, and Württemberg—furnish royal commanders. Most conspicuous among them is the Kaiser's son, Crown Prince Frederick William, whose nominal command has become real. It was in his sector, at Verdun, that the attempt was made to break through the French line last

spring. Back of this youthful commander (he is only thirty-four years old) stood the veteran General Von Haeseler, eighty years of age, in the rôle of adviser. The others in supreme command on the Western front are Duke Albrecht of Württemberg, in the north (including the Somme sector), and Crown Prince Rupprecht, of Bavaria, in the center. Duke Albrecht is fifty-one years old, and Prince Rupprecht is forty-seven.

The original leaders of the German dash toward Paris—von Kluck, von Bülow, and von Hausen—have ceased to be mentioned in the dispatches, although they are undoubtedly

rendering useful service. Von Kluck, who led the drive and bore the brunt of French defense, was wounded in March, 1915, and never returned to the front. Lieutenant-General von Emmich, leader of the German army as it entered Belgium, died a year ago. Field-Marshal von der Goltz died of fever in Turkey after he had witnessed the abandonment of the British Dardanelles expedition.

GENERAL LUDENDORFF
(Quartermaster-General,
and Hindenburg's "right-
hand man")FIELD-MARSHAL VON
HAESELER
(Chief adviser to the
German Crown Prince)

LABOR'S SEVEN-BILLION-DOLLAR "RAISE"

BY J. GEORGE FREDERICK

LABOR is to-day in many senses the most precious commodity in the world. Not only have twenty-five million workers received a \$7,000,000,000 increase in pay during 1916, but panic prices are being paid in many industries out of all proportion or precedent.

The European War drew twelve million men from productive labor entirely, and turned perhaps twenty-five million more men from normal productive labor into abnormal production for destruction. In consequence, the great American workshop had focused upon itself a fierce demand for production, while at the same time there ceased the large normal immigration of laborers and also there departed many thousands for war duty abroad. The result has been that the labor supply in America is utterly inadequate, and has acted upon values somewhat as the gold supply is supposed to act. Because of its basic character it has regulated prices and largely determined the speed and volume of business.

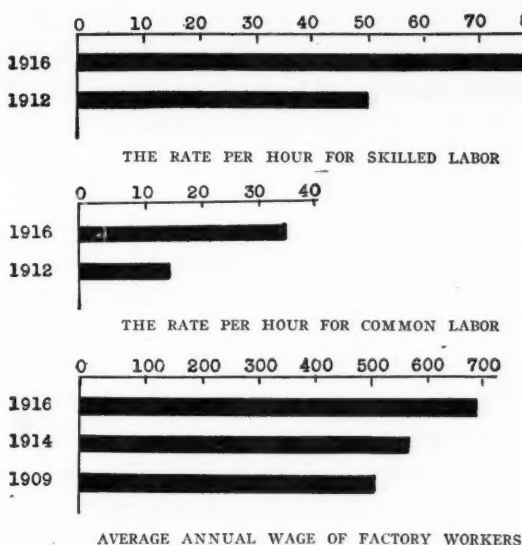
For, obviously, no matter how many manufacturers with pockets bulging with orders are ready to whirl industry's wheels, those wheels will revolve only according to the labor supply; and prices and profits are fixed by what it costs to secure and hold labor in production.

Well, labor has made it cost a pretty penny—and still is behind in its chase of its own tail, for living cost is still 15 per cent. ahead of the increased wages and salaries paid. Nothing could be more extreme in contrast than the labor situation in the United States in the past eight years. In 1908, there are estimated to have been 3,160,000 men and women idle; while but last winter it was estimated that in New York City alone 600,000 were out of employment; a condition so serious that the Mayor started an employment bureau to relieve serious suffering.

To-day in the Middle West large, dignified manufacturing corporations have competed breathlessly in an effort to tempt boys

to leave high school to earn \$15 per week simply screwing common nuts on machinery. Machinists are being fought over like remnants at bargain counters, and in many instances offered high premiums or unprecedented high wages to drop their jobs for others. Two dollars an hour has been nothing very unusual to offer in order to tempt machinists to respond to a feverish call. Two dollars an hour means \$96 per week, or \$5000 a year; which is a sum so greatly in excess of the average professional income that it almost puts general education and learning to shame, and may yet tempt some of the myriad lawyers, doctors, and other professionals (the average of whose yearly income is admitted to be little more than \$700) to don overalls and become real "producers"!

From 1908 to 1914 and 1915 there seems no question that there existed a glut of labor, with a corresponding low wage schedule. It is a fact that the number of workers earning \$1000 or more constituted only 10 per cent. of the total wage-earners; while 50 per cent. earned but \$500 per year. In the mill sections of Massachusetts 21 per cent to 31 per cent of employees received less than \$8 per week, eight years ago. Fourteen cents an hour was considered a general market price for unskilled labor. Succeeding years only slightly bettered this situation. In 1910 the steel trust laid off 70,000 men and cut wages. In 1911 many railways and large industrial corporations cut wages and the outlook at Christmas, for instance, was so gloomy that the department stores of Pittsburgh announced they would not keep open evenings. Master Workman Hayes of the Knights of Labor announced that one-half the wage-earners of the United States were working for the same wages as ten years previous, and the other half for only 10 per cent. more, whereas the cost of living was up 60 per cent. over ten years before. The outlook for labor was serious, and the country's sluggishness of recovery persisted even



after the European War broke out and large purchases were made from abroad.

Then in three months' time, early in 1916, the great, sleeping industrial giant rose and shook himself and called for his minions with a very loud voice, and then labor began to receive its seven-billion-dollar "raise," and has been receiving it ever since. There are seemingly now two jobs for every pair of hands in America at the present time, a fact which makes itself evident in many odd ways. For

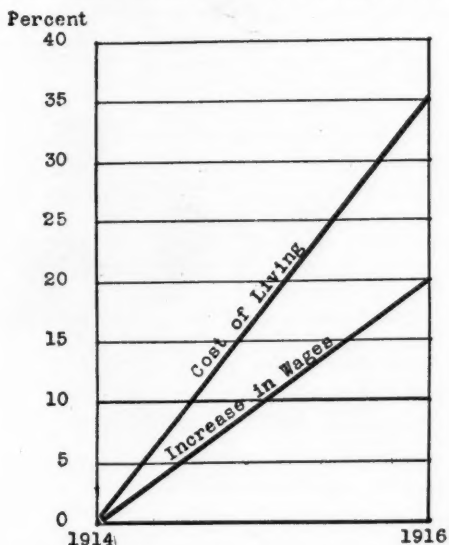


DIAGRAM SHOWING THE RECENT INCREASE IN THE COST OF LIVING AS COMPARED WITH THAT IN WAGES

instance, there have always been plenty of available persons to don the Salvation Army Christmas Santa Claus costume and stand on the cold street corners at Christmas time to collect money for charity. For years immemorial the unfit or unskilled have welcomed this work; but in 1916 all effort was unsuccessful at recruiting the usual quota of help. There were too many attractive jobs elsewhere for every human being. Again, take lumber-camp work in the Northwest. In past years \$25 or \$30 a month "and found" would buy all the "lumberjacks" required. Lumber companies are this winter offering \$40 or \$45,

and not getting enough men.

Most interesting of all indications of epoch-making upward trend in labor cost is the fact that Congress will most certainly raise the pay of Government employees from \$50 to \$150 per year in the class of \$1800 or less; while higher government officials, including even the President of these United States, will also have a raise in pay! Not for fifty years, since the times when Walt Whitman was a treasury clerk, have government salaries been raised.

The 318,000 United States Steel Corporation employees got a 10 per cent. raise, totaling \$20,000,000, beginning December 15, and immediately after the announcement other large companies made similar advances. As an example of the extent of the movement, here is a list of the principal concerns raising wages:

COMPANY	NO. WORKERS AFFECTED	RATE OF INCREASE, PER CENT.
United States Steel.....	318,000	10
American Woolen.....	35,000	10
Westinghouse Electric.....	4,000	12
Cotton Mfrs. Assn.....	33,000	10
Northern Pacific R. R.....	20,000	5
Elk Tanning Co.....	15,000	10
Standard Oil Co.....	10,000	10
Union Bag & Paper Co...	8,000	10
Consolidated Gas Co.....	17,600	7
Republic Steel.....	11,000	10

An interesting development which illustrates the more organized condition of many industries, is the fact that many raises were



How it looks when he gets it How it looks when he spends it

THE WAR-TIME SALARY
From the *World* (New York)

first considered by manufacturers' organizations in each line of industry. Thus the Glove Manufacturers' Association voluntarily agreed on a 4 to 25 per cent. raise, while the Cotton Manufacturers' Association acted unitedly. Other industries have held special meetings to consider the subject, some raising wages and others declining to do so. In some industries the sentiment for uniformly higher prices also crystallized as a result of getting together.

In another instance, that of the American Clothing Manufacturers' Association, covering some 60,000 employees who had struck for their own terms, a raise decided on by the manufacturers was adopted.

The strike situation was especially bitter last year, and it is generally admitted that the success of the railroad brotherhoods in forcing a virtual raise in wage upon Congress made labor very arrogant, the situation being saved from becoming nationally intolerable only by the successful resistance of the New York Subway and elevated lines to a strike which had no public sympathy.

The railways have generally adopted a unique retaliatory method of distributing bonuses only to non-union employees. The Santa Fé led with a distribution involving

\$2,700,000. The Erie, Southern Pacific, and other roads have followed suit with a 10 per cent. bonus to non-union employees.

A still further significant plan has been the adoption of profit-sharing and bonus plans instead of sheer wage increases. This plan, always popular in banks, etc., is now being widely adapted to industrial uses. The National City Bank of New York voted a 20 per cent. bonus, while the Standard Oil Company gave a 20 per cent. bonus to employees earning \$1000 a year or less; 15 per cent. to those earning \$1000 to \$2000, and 10 per cent. to higher-salaried help. The Consolidated Gas Company of New York has a novel plan—it will pay a dividend to its workers earning \$3000 or less at the same rate that dividends are paid to stockholders—7 per cent. This dividend will aggregate about \$1,000,000 and is an ingenious plan of equalizing the interest of worker and stockholder. The Atlas Powder Company has a 10 per cent. bonus plan which it calls a profit-sharing scheme; and there seems to be a general desire to adopt the profit-sharing principle. Hundreds of profit-sharing plans have been adopted in one form or another, some of them based on the firm's monthly earnings, so as to give employees an interest in the firm's sales.

The charts shown herewith graphically illustrate how the wages have increased—also how the increases have mattered little in comparison with living cost. Whether one takes the view that the living cost is directly caused by labor's high wages, or that high wages are demanded because of high living cost, it will probably be most accurate to credit both with a share of responsibility. The fact remains that in spite of his seven-billion-dollar raise the workman in some important respects is worse off than he was before, except perhaps that there are plenty of jobs and no enforced idleness. Also that the ratio of difference between the average laboring man's income and the income of professional and intermediate classes has now been made smaller. The professional and intermediate classes have lost, while capital and labor have profited, as wages have risen on an average of 20 per cent. more than salaries have risen.

HIGH FOOD PRICES AND THEIR CAUSES

BY DAVID SHELTON KENNEDY

PRICES of foodstuffs in December, 1916, reached higher levels than the United States has seen in the fifty years since the Civil War period. With the monotonous regularity of clockwork the quotations on one commodity after another have registered new high records for two generations. It is hoped the end is in sight. The remarkable spurts in the price of cotton during the Daniel Sully corner, and in wheat when Joseph Leiter almost succeeded in cornering the supply, have been forgotten in the widespread advance which has not only carried these products above their former records but has borne with it every item classed among the necessities of life.

The year just ended will take its place in history for its unprecedented rises in the prices of foodstuffs. The food and grain exchanges in American centers have been the scenes of the wildest frenzy as traders and speculators have attempted repeatedly to adjust their holdings to the law of supply and demand.

WHEAT AND FLOUR

Advances and declines in the price of wheat have been as uncertain as the fortunes of the hostile forces in Europe. Purchases here by the Allied Governments have been at all times the key to quotations. The demand for wheat from abroad has been limited only by the ability of ships to carry the grain and by the amount available in this country.

The wheat crop of 1914-1915 was the greatest on record up to that time, but at the prevailing rate of export this was just sufficient to meet the demands. The end of the season found the United States scraping its bins. Public speculation rose to a fever heat when the climax was reached in February, 1915, with May wheat selling at \$1.67 a bushel. Afterward prices receded until the summer. The crop of 1915-1916 was placed officially at 1,011,500,000 bushels, a new high record for the nation. This was enough to meet all demands and

to leave a surplus of about 200,000,000 bushels. The last crop has been estimated at 611,000,000 bushels, which is about 20,000,000 bushels below the normal consumption of the country. Only the surplus from last year makes it possible for us to export to Europe and not face actual want at home. Recently wheat went beyond the mark of \$1.95 a bushel, a figure never before reached in the memory of this generation, comparing with \$3.10 shortly after the Civil War and with a momentary price of \$2 a bushel in the Hutchinson corner of 1888. The price of flour has more than doubled, mounting to the retail price of \$12 a barrel.

INCREASE OF ONE-THIRD IN NECESSARY FOOD ITEMS

While wheat is the leader in the market for foodstuffs, as United States Steel common stock is the leader on the New York Stock Exchange, other foodstuffs have advanced on the same extraordinary scale. A study of the diet of the American family will show this trend. The average meal consists of 12 per cent. of poultry and eggs, 48 per cent. of meat and dairy products, 11 per cent. of vegetables, 10 per cent. of fish and 19 per cent. of other items.

Figures compiled from all commodities produced in the basic industries of the country show an increase from 109 points on December 1, 1915, to 143 points on the same date of 1916. This was an advance of approximately one-third in the items which every family must purchase.

One Year's Advance in Prices

	1915	1916
Ham, lb. ....	.17	.19½
Lard .....	.09	.17
Butter .....	.28	.36
Coffee .....	.07	.09¾
Mutton .....	.13½	.15½
Eggs, dozen...	.35	.65
Sugar, lb. ....	.05	.07½
Beans, cwt....	8.25	11.75
Raisins, lb. ....	.08½	.11

These figures are based upon prevailing prices in New York City, where, because of better methods of distribution and the fact that it is the largest consuming center in the world, the increase in prices is estimated to be about 20 per cent. less than in other large American cities.

Fluctuations occur from day to day as a consequence of local conditions, but it seems safe to say that the price which the average buyer must pay for necessities is now at least 35 per cent. greater than one year ago.

THE RISE IN IMPORTED PRODUCTS

The gains which have been made in domestic products have been duplicated also in foodstuffs imported from other countries. Macaroni, coming chiefly from Italy, was sent to us at 4 cents a pound in the month before the war, but is now shipped at an average of 7.5 cents a pound. Cocoa, at an average of 10.4 cents a pound in the country from which it was exported, was recently 14.5 cents. Currants, chiefly from Greece, were sent to us in the month before the war at 3.9 cents a pound, but since then have reached 9.1 cents. These figures are based upon prices in the country of origin and do not take into consideration the enormous cost of transportation to the United States.

The price of canned foods has mounted to dizzy heights. In 1914 there were 3199 canning establishments in the United States having an output valued at \$380,000,000 a year. Canned tomatoes have gained from 65 cents a dozen wholesale to \$1.40 a dozen in one year. Maine corn, which sold at 65 cents a dozen cans in October of 1914, recently sold at \$1.75 a dozen. The list might be extended indefinitely. Growers and speculators realize that prices are likely to go still higher and they are holding for those quotations in some commodities.

REASONS FOR ADVANCES—THE WAR

With this recital of the phenomenal increases in the price of foodstuffs, let us turn to the reasons for the advances. Any such study involves a survey of the underlying economic conditions, which, however, can only be briefly touched on in this short article.

The chief cause in the increase is the world war, with 800,000,000 people arrayed in the hostile nations. The whole purpose of these countries is to prosecute the war successfully, and to that end about 5,000,000

men in the prime of their producing capacity have been sacrificed. An additional 25,000,000 men are under arms and have accordingly been withdrawn from productive work. Factories which formerly turned out clothing, machinery, and other necessities are now fully occupied in supplying the armies with shells, explosives, guns, and uniforms. Farms and shops have been drained of their laborers. In this crisis the United States stands as the only nation which can fill the orders of the world. It is inevitable that as prices abroad have risen the reflex should be felt here. Prices seek a common level.

THE INFLUX OF GOLD

The United States is feeling also the effects of an inflation in the purchasing medium. As dollars multiply, the amount of food which they will buy tends to decrease. The stock of gold in this country now is about \$2,750,000,000, one-third of the world's supply, which represents an increase of about \$850,000,000 since the beginning of the war. More than \$600,000,000 in gold has come in during the present year. As every dollar forms the basis of five dollars in bank credits it is readily seen that this is an important factor in the higher prices. The per capita circulation of the nation has increased around 25 per cent. in the last two years, now being \$42 a person.

ENHANCED WAGES AND PURCHASING POWER

Another factor of far-reaching significance is the greater purchasing power of the public in terms of wages. Within the last year there has been a wide tendency towards higher levels, and it is unfortunately true that prosperity among wage-earners does not result in savings but in larger expenditures as a rule. The number of strikes and lock-outs in the first ten months of 1916 reached 2890 as compared with 1025 in the corresponding period of 1915. In the great majority of cases the labor issues were settled through an advance in wages and in practically no instances were there decreases. The daily papers now recite score after score of wage increases. The United States Steel Corporation has added 30 per cent. to the wages of its 250,000 employees in a year. The Standard Oil Companies have also given large advances. Other steel and industrial concerns have followed suit.

The labor situation in New York State

gives a fair indication of conditions throughout the country. According to reports for November, the latest available, more persons were employed and more wages disbursed than at any previous time in the history of the State. Compared with November, 1915, there were 13 per cent. more workers employed and the increase in wage disbursements was 28 per cent. Compared with November, 1914, the workers employed were 29 per cent. more numerous and the wages paid amounted to 58 per cent. more than that month. In recent weeks the trend in all industries has been to grant salaried employees bonuses ranging from 10 to 35 per cent. of their annual compensation. This is evidence of the greater buying power of the public.

THE WORLD'S CROP SHORTAGE

A third factor in the increase in the prices of foodstuffs is the great shortage in crops, not only in the United States but all over the world. Take wheat, for instance. The world's yield for 1916 is only 72 per cent. of 1915. The production in England and Wales is 82 per cent. and in Italy 103 per cent. The yield in other countries, including a shortage of 400,000,000 bushels in the United States, brings the average down to 72.4 per cent. It is estimated that 150,000,000 bushels of wheat are tied up in Southern Russia and Rumania by the war, and hence are not available for the rest of the world.

The corn crop of the United States has dropped to 2,717,000,000 bushels, as against 3,054,000,000 bushels in 1915. The yield of oats has decreased from 1,540,000,000 to 1,220,000,000 bushels. The Canadian wheat crop is 159,000,000 bushels as compared with 376,000,000 bushels.

The food supply of the country has been growing less proportionally for a number of years and it has taken only the increased pressure of demand from Europe to demonstrate this. Consider the facts presented in the accompanying table.

These figures are based upon reports for the fiscal year ending with last June and accordingly include the record farm yields of 1915. With the severe curtailment of

crops in 1916 the proportion shows a more serious decline as compared with previous decades.

POPULATION	
1900.....	75,900,000
1910.....	92,200,000
1916.....	101,800,000
SUPPLY OF MEATS	
1899.....	248 pounds per capita
1909.....	213 " " "
1915.....	219 " " "
SUPPLY OF CEREALS	
1899.....	44 bushels per capita
1909.....	35 " " "
1915.....	40 " " "

EXPORTS TO EUROPE

The fourth factor in the rise of prices is the enormous exportation of foodstuffs to Europe in the last two years, making a considerable part of the total, which will probably reach \$5,200,000,000 this year as compared with less than one-half of that sum in the years before the war.

Exports of meats and dairy products for the ten months ending with October of 1916 amounted to \$220,000,000, as compared with \$207,000,000 in 1915, \$102,000,000 in 1914, and \$115,000,000 in 1913. Exports of principal breadstuffs were \$358,000,000 in 1916, as compared with \$446,000,000 in the record year 1915, \$204,000,000 in 1914, and \$170,000,000 in 1913. Thus it is seen that the United States is now sending to Europe about twice as much foodstuffs as in the years preceding the war, though part of the valuation is due to the inflated prices.

The Government is now carrying on a searching inquiry into the cost of necessities. It is doubtful if anything of real value can be accomplished immediately. Speculators are making huge profits, but it remains to be seen whether there is a combination to support prices. The present situation is chiefly the result of economic conditions, under the operation of supply and demand, which cannot be changed without the exercise of dictatorial powers such as are being tried abroad, or the placing of an export embargo, which would mean the starvation of Europe.



STAFF OF CADET OFFICERS, CHEYENNE HIGH SCHOOL

THE WYOMING PLAN OF MILITARY TRAINING

BY E. A. WALKER

(Military Director, Cheyenne High School)

WHEN the search was begun for a plan of military training which might to an acceptable degree meet the needs of the occasion and at the same time not violate our traditions, the schools of Wyoming were found to have a well-established system which was growing in popularity each year. This work was begun in the schools of Cheyenne by Lieut. E. Z. Steever, who was assigned to duty at Fort D. A. Russell in 1911. Being interested in boys, he asked and was given permission to organize a Cadet Corps in the Cheyenne High School. Military drill has been tried many times in the regular, non-military schools, but has not, in general, met with the success which has been accorded the "Wyoming Plan"; it had been tried in Cheyenne, but had been dropped.

Military drill, if carried on as an exclusive activity, will not tend to fill a boy with a consuming enthusiasm. Despite his instinctive admiration for a soldier, drill will be found to lack elements essential to the sustaining of youthful interest. Recognizing this fact, Lieutenant Steever introduced the competitive element. For instance, he pitted squad against squad in going over a wall more than eight feet in height. A Cheyenne squad of eight boys can now go over such a wall, taking its guns with it, in but little more than six seconds. A proximate goal is provided by giving semi-annual exhibitions which consist, for the most part, of elimination drills in the manual of arms, to the

winner of which is given a medal; of first-aid work, in which some of the girls of the High School act as nurses; of setting-up exercises and contests in wall-scaling. The members of the winning squad in the scaling contests are awarded medals also. The plan of division into scaling squads is such that there are large and small boys in every squad. The smallest boy in the company may be on the winning squad and so is not discriminated against on account of size, as in the regular athletics.

The Wyoming Plan of military training contains those elements which appeal to a boy. This is shown by the fact that about 75 per cent. of the boys enrolled in the High School at any time will be found in the Cadet Corps and practically all of them take the work at some time in their course. Its activities cover every phase of school life. The limitations of this article will not permit a description of its summer camps, its target practise, inter-squad contests in scholarship, or social functions. It appeals to parents, although they may not have raised their boy to be a soldier. Indeed, the idea of training for possible warfare may be totally lacking in the minds of both boys and parents; but serving one's country on the field of battle is but one phase of citizenship, while firm muscles, a sure eye, an erect carriage, and precision of action are attributes desirable not only in a soldier, but also in his civilian brother.

INFANTILE PARALYSIS

WHAT HAVE WE LEARNED?

LAST summer an epidemic of infantile paralysis, first noticed at Brooklyn, N. Y., in June, spread with great rapidity across more than half of the entire country. Not only were many afflicted—in all, there were 27,000 cases—but the mortality rate was unusually large, and most of those who survive are permanently crippled.

In New York City alone there were 9000 cases. From one or two a day during the first week of the epidemic, the number increased to an average of 175 daily in the middle of August. Then the disease either was checked or had spent itself, and the number of new cases dropped steadily at the rate of 100 less each week, until by the first of October there were only sixteen a day. That month saw the end of the epidemic.

The most complete and informing statistics are those of the Department of Health in New York City. It found that 85 per cent. of the cases were children under the age of six years, and that three out of five were boys. While in an earlier epidemic in New York (1907) the mortality rate had been only 5 per cent., in the recent outbreak it was more than 26 per cent.—2343 deaths out of 8927 cases within the city.

It had been freely charged that health authorities and physicians in general suffered greatly from hysteria, and diagnosed as infantile paralysis many complaints with similar symptoms. In apparent support of these assertions were current statistics which indicated a remarkable decline in the number of children suffering from other diseases. The official reports show, however, that of 4474 cases sent to New York hospitals only 145 proved to be wrongly diagnosed.

The disease ("poliomyelitis," the physicians call it) is not new. Isolated cases had been reported to every health department for years; and several previous epidemics had occurred. But our medical profession frankly confessed its lack of knowledge concerning the manner and agents by which the disease is spread, effective methods of treatment, and preventive steps. Leading medical scientists throughout the country began a study of the

problem from various angles, and some of their findings are now available.

Poliomyelitis is a germ disease. The micro-organism which causes it is present not only in the sick but also in the secretions from the noses and throats of healthy persons who have been in contact with the sick. The sick one or the healthy carrier meets others, to whom the germs become transferred. They in turn spread the infection. Meanwhile, here and there, usually in widely separated locations, the infection is transmitted to a susceptible person, most commonly a child. In adults the infection tends to remain in the nose, while in young children it more frequently invades the brain and spinal cord, producing paralysis. This is the theory of most investigators, as set down in writing by the California Board of Health.

A report adopted unanimously by the American Public Health Association is in harmony with that theory, but it admits that "some insect or animal host may be a necessary spreading factor," although specific evidence is lacking. The weight of present opinion inclines to the view that poliomyelitis is exclusively a human disease, and is spread by personal contact—direct or indirect—whatever other causes may contribute to its spread.

Experiments with monkeys have indicated that the disease can be directly transmitted from person to person. It has been produced by direct application of infected matter to the nasal membrane of a monkey. Over against this, however, should be placed the following noteworthy fact: Out of 7000 cases especially studied in New York City, 6521 (or 96.6 per cent.) did not communicate the disease to a second member of the family. In 205 families there were two cases, and in 22 families there were three or more. It is not impossible that in many, and perhaps all, of the duplicate instances the infection was simultaneous and was not transmitted from one to another.

In suburban communities it was often easy to prove that the infected child had not been

in contact with anyone suffering from, or who afterwards developed, poliomyelitis.

The source of infection in nearly all cases is thus a healthy carrier; and the difficulty in controlling the disease lies in that fact. The medical profession hopes that continued research may afford means of control by yielding knowledge of practical tests for the detection of carriers and for distinguishing between susceptible and insusceptible persons. It is also hoped that means may be discovered for rendering persons immune.

Besides the recognized passive treatment of the disease, it was found that with a certain type of case there was some value in the use of a serum obtained from the blood of immune persons (those who had had poliomyelitis and recovered). The serum was chiefly administered in early cases, through the spine, before paralysis had set in. The authorities are not yet prepared to pass absolute judgment, but they believe that this treatment frequently arrested paralysis and favorably influenced mortality.

Dr. Simon Flexner, director of research

in the Rockefeller Institute, believes that infantile paralysis has become too firmly entrenched for it ever to be eradicated, although reappearances will be sporadic. The recent epidemic itself rendered such large numbers immune that communities visited last summer ought not to have another serious outbreak for at least five years. This is the opinion of Dr. Haven Emerson, Health Commissioner of New York City, and also of Dr. C. H. Lavinder, an expert of the United States Public Health Service who has given especial attention to the problem.

With the disappearance of the epidemic, temporarily at least, attention has been directed to the "after care" of those who passed through it. Nearly all of these children are permanently crippled. Out of 2715 cases followed up carefully in New York City, 1885, or two-thirds, are unable to walk; 530 more are partially paralyzed in the lower limbs, and 273 have one or both arms totally paralyzed. Proper treatment, continued through a long period, will bring relief and often effect a cure.—H. F.

OUR PHYSICAL UNPREPAREDNESS

EXPERTS employed by American insurance companies have made careful studies of the average American on the physical side in his relationship to problems of life insurance. At a recent convention of life-insurance presidents in New York City, one of the speakers, Mr. E. E. Rittenhouse, brought out certain facts tending to show that the physical endurance of the American people is seriously declining.

While a marvelous increase has occurred in wealth, in time-saving and labor-saving devices, which have radically changed the living habits of a large number of people, physical vigor has materially declined. At the same time the per capita intake of food has increased, and much of this food is over-rich and injurious. The individual American as described by Mr. Rittenhouse is "easily winded, weak and flabby-muscled, with joints stiffened by disuse; he is lacking in both agility and endurance." It appears that the mortality rate from wear and tear of life is gaining abnormally. The low-power or sub-standard group of our population, as Mr. Rittenhouse terms it, is apparently increasing.

These are some of the items that Mr. Rit-

tenhouse set forth in his attempt to visualize the physical American as he walks the streets of our twentieth-century cities:

He is amazingly prosperous. In two generations his wealth has increased 540 per cent. He looks smooth, pink and healthy. He is a good liver. He hurries. He has no time to waste. The age at death of the American people is about forty-three. His hair is aged and he is getting bald. Nature asks why hirsute protection is needed indoors. His eyes have been strained by close-focus and inside work, hence the eyeglasses. His teeth put up a good front, but they need attention.

His digestive organs have been given too many new and arduous duties. Under exertion he is short-winded, due to lack of exercise or a bad heart. He is designed as an erect outdoor animal, with feet and legs for service, but he not only lies down by night, but he sits down by day. His 400 muscles are virtually all soft and weak from lack of use. He never walks when he can ride.

He would not think of mixing bricks or scrap iron or gravel with the fuel for the furnace, but he does not hesitate to follow this plan in furnishing fuel for his body. He seems to think "auto-intoxication" is some automatic way of getting pleasure. He should note the insurance records, which show that, with those above forty years old, having fifteen to eighty pounds overweight, the excess death rate ranges from 9 to 75 per cent. above the average.

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

THE ELECTION OF 1916

LAST month in this department we reproduced various expressions of opinion concerning the results of the Presidential election. After our December number had gone to press there were published signed statements from a number of public men who had taken important parts in the campaign. One of the most interesting of these was Mr. Bryan's comment in the *Commoner* (Lincoln, Nebraska).

In the election returns Mr. Bryan reads the country's verdict that it is opposed to intervention in Mexico and protests against being drawn into the war in Europe. In his view the value of the decision is greatly increased by the fact that the victory was won by the West and South without the aid or consent of the East. Mr. Bryan also exults in the fact that Chicago had as little to do with Democratic success as New York. He seems even to rejoice in the abandonment by Indiana of its claim that party success was impossible without its electoral vote.

Mr. Bryan points out that of the twenty-three "dry" States in the Union seventeen cast their votes for Wilson and Marshall; while, in addition to these, the President secured the votes of four more in which the Prohibition amendment will soon be submitted. Since he regards the Democratic party as released from any obligation to the liquor interests by the fact that in the election those interests threw their influence to the Republican ticket, Mr. Bryan holds that it is now the plain duty of the Democratic party to take up the prohibition issue and make it its own. He calls upon "dry" Democrats to begin work at once to secure control of the party organization, State and national. "Nearly half the States are now dry and the number will be swelled to nearly, if not quite, thirty before 1920. To take the side of the saloon is to invite disastrous defeat. To take the side of the home is to draw to the party the strong young men who

are coming out of the schools and colleges, and who will within a few years be the dominant force in politics."

Colonel Roosevelt's Comments

Colonel Roosevelt's explanation of the election appears in the *Metropolitan* for January. He finds that the appeal made in the campaign on behalf of Mr. Wilson that he should be reelected because he had kept us out of war and because we were prosperous was one that would naturally "tell very strongly with good, honest citizens whose preoccupation with their own pursuits was such that they could not be expected to look deeply into our international relations and the general world conditions." Colonel Roosevelt thinks it would have been highly creditable to the average man if he had possessed the vision and disinterestedness to disregard such an appeal; but the fact that he did not disregard it simply means that the issue had not been made clear to his eyes. It is hard to get voters to make a political change because of concern about the future. The forecasts of politicians are not usually taken seriously and voters have grown skeptical about all promises and statements made during the course of the campaign.

Colonel Roosevelt puts part of the blame for the Republican defeat on the shoulders of Republican Congressmen, who, he says, had either failed to criticize the President for specific acts of his administration or else had divided into two ranks, half of them attacking him because on some given policy he had gone too far, and the other half because he had not gone far enough. He declares that those who supported Mr. Hughes will always be glad that they supported him, believing that his triumph and the national welfare were closely interwoven. They now, for the sake of the nation, earnestly hope that Mr. Wilson will meet with every success in the task before him.

PAUL LEROY-BEAULIEU ON GERMANY'S DESIGNS

PAUL LEROY-BEAULIEU, long the most eminent of French economists, and one of the foremost writers of his country in the field of politics and statesmanship, died in harness last month, at the age of seventy-three. The latest issue to hand (that for November 25) of the *Économiste Français*—the weekly journal which he founded in 1873 and of which he has been the editor ever since—contains an article from his pen on the situation and prospects of the war, which is of extraordinary interest at the present moment, not only as being perhaps the last contribution of its distinguished author, but even more on account of its bearing on the discussion of possibilities of peace terms, now so ripe.

This, it may be added, is the 121st in the series of weekly articles on the war which M. Leroy-Beaulieu began to write in August, 1914, and which he continued without a single intermission until his last illness.

After referring to the re-capture of Monastir by the Allies, the writer proceeds:

Important political events have, likewise, taken place in that short space of time. It is well known that Germany, which combines a limitless wickedness with a singular naïveté, has always flattered itself with being able to induce one of the chief powers of the Entente, despite the formal engagements at London in September, 1914, to conclude a separate peace. Her efforts in that direction were aimed particularly at Russia. She imagined that in conceding to that power some territory in Armenia and illusory rights of transit at all times and for all vessels through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles she could detach the Empire of the Czars from the sheaf of the Entente Powers.

That was a most singular presumption. It is evident that if—assuming the impossible—one of the Entente Powers proved false to its engagements and concluded a separate peace with the Central Powers, no matter with what conditions, the future of that treacherous power would be ruined forever. It could not hope to form any alliance whatever for generations to come. It would be consigned to isolation and incur the general contempt of the world.

At the same time it would run the risk of assuring the definitive triumph of Germany, which would withdraw its troops and those of its vassals from the treacherous power's front in order to concentrate them upon the fronts of the powers thus abandoned by one of its allies.

What would the situation be then? Let us suppose Germany actually restoring Russian Poland and Lithuania, but compelling the Western powers to sign a peace upon the basis of the

status quo ante bellum; Germany's power would be formidably augmented by the establishment of suzerainty and implacable control over its allies, who would beyond doubt become its vassals. A single state would possess, with obedient delegates for certain portions, the entire center of Europe (Mittel Europa), with the whole of the Levant; German Europe would, in fact, comprise all of present Germany, with its 70,000,000 inhabitants, augmented by a steadily rapid birth rate; then Austria-Hungary, with 50,000,000 inhabitants; Bulgaria, with its addition of 12,000,000; Turkey, with twenty-one or twenty-two millions.

That would mean a compact mass of over 150,000,000 souls, subject in the military, political, and economic domains to a methodical and implacable system; controlling, furthermore, by intimidation the territory of the neighboring neutral states: Belgium, Holland, the Scandinavian countries, and Switzerland, with about thirty million souls.

This formidable power, such as the world has never known, even in the time of the Roman Empire, would stretch from the North Sea and the shores of the English Channel to the Adriatic, the Egean Sea, and, through its vassal, Turkey, to the Persian Gulf. It would mean the complete subjection of Europe and the beginning of the subjection of the entire world. *Deutschland über alles*, Germany above all, would become a reality, imposing itself on the whole globe. South America would soon be under the control of this Germany, raised above all the other nations. The United States itself, a liberal nation, inclined to federalism and to individual impulses, would—a thing which it does not seem to take into consideration—be absolutely incapable of ever standing up against that titanic power of Central Europe.

Furthermore, Germany has clearly disclosed her designs to annex, under one form or another, Russian Poland, Lithuania, Courland, etc., a thing which would add twenty millions more to the enormous populations subject to the monster.

It required that singular combination of villainy and simplicity for Germany to expect Russia—the writer continues—to fall into the crude trap of a separate peace. Outside of her traditional loyalty, her interests and those of the German Empire are most obviously antagonistic. It was, nevertheless, requisite that the Russian Government should publicly and clearly express its repulsion for the insulting advances of Germany. This was solemnly done by the Russian Premier, M. Stürmer, in a telegram addressed to the Russian Ambassador to Paris in November, 1916. The despatch closes with these words:

"Russia will maintain intact the intimate union which binds her to her valiant allies, and far from thinking of concluding a separate peace, she will fight by their side the common enemy without the slightest faltering until the hour of final victory.

"No hostile intrigue will succeed in shaking the irrevocable decision of Russia."

The Czar addressed at the same time the following despatch to the Council of State:

"I firmly believe that we shall realize by the heroic efforts of our arms and those of our allies the historic aims of Russia and of the nations fighting on her side."

The Duma, too, despite the severe criticism on many points which had been uttered there, was the scene of an impressive demonstration which had the effect of producing a harmony

only seeming before. The Minister of the Marine, who exclaimed: "*The national defense imperatively demands your united efforts,*" and the Minister of War, who declared: "*It is not the army alone which carries on the war, it is the entire state,*" received hearty ovations.

Thus, in Russia, the Czar, the Ministry, the Duma, the entire press, one may say, all the corporate bodies, all the organs of public opinion, advocate prosecution of the war to a final victory.

ENGLAND'S "STATE OF MIND"

A REMARKABLE anonymous article, ostensibly written by a British soldier returned from the trenches, appeared in the London *Nation* of October 21, 1916. It immediately attracted unusual attention in England and it was said that the military authorities made special efforts to learn the author's identity. These efforts, however, were apparently unsuccessful. Whether the author of the article was just in his estimate of British public opinion at home or not, those in power were evidently much perturbed by his contemptuous comments on what he regarded as the British state of mind.

This writer described his own feelings on visiting England after some months at the front as those of a "visitor among strangers whose attentions are kindly but whose modes of thought I neither altogether understand nor altogether approve." The people, he says, with whom he really is at home are to be found in "the England that's not an island or an empire, but a wet, populous dike stretching from Flanders to the Somme."

Addressing these "strangers" at home, this soldier makes these direct allegations:

As we exchange views, one of you assumes as possible or probable something that seems to us preposterous, or dismisses as too trivial for comment what appears to us a fact of primary importance. You speak lightly, you assume that we shall speak lightly, of things, emotions, states of mind, human relationships, and affairs which are to us solemn or terrible. You seem ashamed, as if they were a kind of weakness, of the ideas which sent us to France, and for which thousands of sons and lovers have died. You calculate the profits to be derived from "War after the War," as though the unspeakable agonies of the Somme were an item in a commercial proposition. You make us feel that the country to which we've returned is not the country from which we went out to fight! And your reticence as to the obvious physical facts of war! And your ignorance as to the sentiments of your relations about it!

The writer proceeds to give some of the reasons which seem to him to account in a measure for the fact that the British civilian population and the army at the front have drifted apart in ideals and modes of thought. He shows that when men have taken up arms, not as a profession or because forced to do so by law, but under the influence of some emotion or principle, they tend to be ruled by the idea that compelled them to enlist, long after that idea has yielded among civilians to some other ruling passion. This is partly because the soldier is less exposed than the civilian to new intellectual influences and so is likely to retain firmly or even to deepen the impressions that made him a soldier in the first instance.

We see things which you can only imagine. We are strengthened by reflections which you have abandoned. Our minds differ from yours, both because they are more exposed to change, and because they are less changeable. While you seem—forgive me if I am rude—to have been surrendering your creeds with the nervous facility of a Tudor official, our foreground may be different, but our background is the same. It is that of August to November, 1914. We are your ghosts.

The veil that hangs between the soldier and the people at home, according to this writer from the trenches, "is not a negative but a positive thing. It is not intellectual; it is moral. It is not ignorance (or I should not mention it); it is falsehood." "The people," he says, "have chosen to make for themselves an image of war not as it is, but of a kind which, being picturesque, flatters the appetite for novelty, for excitement, for easy admiration, without troubling with masterful emotions." According to this writer, the people have chosen to make this image because they do not like or cannot bear the truth; because they are afraid of what may happen to their souls if they expose them to the inconsistencies

and contradictions, the doubts and bewilderment which lie beneath the surface of things.

Interpreting the spirit of the army, this soldier declares that the men who have spent a winter in the trenches do not describe war as "sport."

It is a load that they carry with aching bones, hating it, and not unconscious of its monstrosity, hoping dimly that by shouldering it now they will save others from it in the future, looking back with even an exaggerated affection to the blessings of peace.

They carry their burden with little help from you. For an army does not live by munitions

alone, but also by fellowship in a moral idea or purpose. And that you cannot give us. You cannot give it us, because you do not possess it. You are, I see, more divided in soul than you were when I became a soldier, denouncing the apostles of war, yet not altogether disinclined to believe that war is an exalting thing, half implying that our cause is the cause of humanity in general and democracy in particular, yet not daring boldly to say so, lest later you should be compelled to fulfil your vows, more complacent and self-sufficient in proportion as you are more confident of victory and have less need of other nations, trusting more in the great machine which you have created and less in the unseen forces which, if you will let them, will work on your side.

BRITISH SENTIMENT FOR PEACE

THAT section of British public opinion which favors immediate efforts to obtain peace is chiefly represented in the press by Mr. Charles P. Trevelyan, M. P.

In an open letter which he addressed last month to Americans Mr. Trevelyan made an appeal for mediation in the war by neutral nations (this was before Germany had officially declared her willingness to discuss peace terms). Apart from the subject-matter of the appeal, Mr. Trevelyan's letter is interesting for what it reveals as to present conditions in Great Britain. He states, for example, that the people of England are probably less weary of the war than the other belligerents. Great Britain started as the richest of the warring nations, and so remains. She enjoys a credit that permits high wages and so stimulates a fictitious prosperity and the positive want which accentuates war's evils in Germany and Austria has not yet been present in England. Still the killing of great numbers of British youth has had its effect, and in Mr. Trevelyan's opinion the general war weariness is becoming daily more and more intense.

There is not, nor has there been, any appreciable movement for peace at any price. Those who are agitating for an early effort at peace negotiations, including, besides Mr. Trevelyan himself, Messrs. Snowden, Ponsonby, and Ramsay Macdonald, also members of the House of Commons, have "no more desire than the wildest war-monger that the war should end before Germany is ready to evacuate France and Belgium and by acts acknowledge the abandonment of all designs at aggression or aggrandizement." The people who attend the meetings ad-

dressed by these leaders simply desire their government to negotiate a peace if it can and Mr. Trevelyan maintains that this feeling has been stimulated by the well-known attitude of Mr. Lloyd George, who has openly avowed his belief in a war of attrition.

Defining the attitude of the masses of his countrymen, Mr. Trevelyan says that they are heartily sick of the war, but that they are not aware of the weariness of the Germans and that consequently they regard peace as hopeless and are therefore not yet prepared to advocate it. He believes, however, that if it were once brought to the consciousness of ordinary Englishmen, that Germany is now ready for a reasonable peace, to abjure her conquests, and above all to evacuate and help to compensate Belgium, a radical change would appear in popular opinion.

Mr. Trevelyan evidently has little faith in the sincerity of governments or in "backstairs diplomacy," but if we may assume that it will some day be possible for an American President to say in quite simple and direct language to the British people (not to the government) that Germany is ready to give up Belgium and France, if the British government will negotiate, Mr. Trevelyan believes that something like this would happen: "First would come a roar of indignation from the reactionary British press, the government circles would shudder at the lack of diplomatic reserve; there might be no open response at once, but from the day of the utterance, public opinion would begin to form on the irrefutable knowledge that a peace could be obtained satisfactorily on the question which was most vital to the British people."

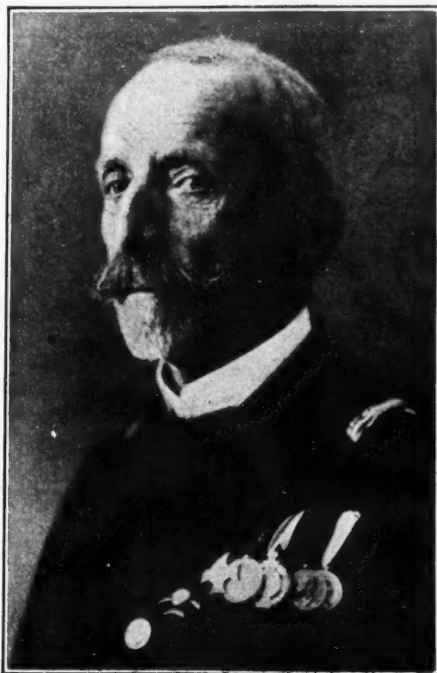
RUSSIA'S REACTION TO POLISH "INDEPENDENCE"

IN no country did the recent German-Austrian declaration in regard to the future of Poland reverberate more widely and profoundly than in Russia. The main reason for this fact is obvious: The action of the Central Powers pertains only to Russian Poland, *i. e.*, the part of the Polish Kingdom captured by the Teuton armies in 1915. Another reason is to be found in the several hundred thousand Polish soldiers from the invaded territory now fighting in the ranks of Russia's armies. Public interest in Russia in the Polish problem is also enhanced by the Polish Parliamentary group in the Duma, who are the only true representatives of the population inhabiting Russian Poland. And when one remembers how incensed the Russian people were by their government's passive attitude toward the Polish question one will be able to account for the tremendous and stormy expression of public opinion in Russia on the occasion of the joint announcement made by Germany and Austria to the effect that the Polish Kingdom will henceforth exist autonomously.

The representatives of the Russian Poles did not take enthusiastically to the Teutonic proclamation. Some called it incomplete, others regarded it as a trap and a provocation. The chairman of the Polish Kolo in the Duma, I. S. Garusevitch, expressed himself as follows:

The German proclamation of Polish "independence" cannot satisfy the Poles. First of all, because it does not solve the most important part of the problem, the Polish aspiration for a Poland reunited from all its torn parts. The published proclamation of Polish independence does not include Austrian Galicia and German Posen. On the other hand, it very definitely declares that independence is granted only to the provinces captured from Russia. The boundaries of the future Polish state remain unknown.

It is quite self-evident that one must regard the act of Germany and Austria as prompted by the desire to create a gulf between Poland and Russia and her allies, and intended to satisfy the constantly growing demand in Germany for human resources through the mobilization of the population of the occupied provinces. But I am convinced that the Polish Kingdom, making use of the temporary self-government granted to it, will not be caught in the trap spread before the Poles by the authorities in power. That which Germany and Austria gave to Poland resembles less than anything independence. How can one speak of a new sovereign state when, without consulting the will of the people in the



Photograph by American Press Ass'n., N. Y.

ARCHDUKE STEPHEN OF AUSTRIA, SELECTED AS REGENT OF POLAND, WITH THE PROSPECT OF ELECTION AS KING LATER

(He is a cousin of the late Emperor Francis Joseph and is commander of the Austrian navy. He is 66 years old, and is regarded as the most energetic member of the Hapsburg house.)

person of its new government, a mobilization is declared for the purpose of recruiting the Poles into the German army? And this when there is no new government as yet! Even the form of the act is suspicious, as it was promulgated by the military authorities and not signed by the German and Austrian Emperors. . . . The vast majority of the Polish people are basing all their hopes for the future, as hitherto, on Russia's and her allies' victory over our common foe.

The negative view of the Austro-German act expressed by M. Garusevitch found strong support in the ranks of the Polish political parties. Criticizing it from various angles, the Polish leaders invariably arrived at the same conclusions. Thus A. P. Lednitzky, an acknowledged Polish leader, head of the Moscow Polish Committee, calls in the *Russkia Vedomosti* (Moscow) Germany's "bold and resolute gesture—the



THIS IS THE WAY THE KAISER WOULD LIKE TO GUARANTEE THE AUTONOMY OF POLAND
From Boudinik (Petrograd)

mounting on the Warsaw citadel of the banner of Polish freedom" "a criminal and dangerous act." It would be a great mistake to think that the white Polish eagle will begin its new flight under the black wing of German militarism," he declares.

It is sad to think that Germany had found the opportunity to commit her present act only because of Russia's inaction, whose great word (referring to the Grand Duke's manifesto) was not followed by deeds. But not all is lost. Germany did not solve the Polish problem as yet. She only presented it in its full appearance, making it an international problem, which only an international institution may solve. Germany did not win over to her side the Polish people, to whom there can be no new Poland without Cracow, without Galicia and Silesia, and without the cradle of Polish civilization—the Grand Duchy of Posen. Neither Polish political thought nor the Polish national conscience will acquiesce in the creation of a Poland condemned to exist under the domination of German influence, German interests, and German power. The Polish people need real independence, and not an imitation of it.

The attitude of the Russian people toward the Austro-German act is best expressed by V. A. Maklakoff, one of Russia's most eminent public men, and by Vladimir Burtzeff, the celebrated revolutionary historian, in an article in the Petrograd *Retch*. The former is a moderate progressive, and his interesting expression is perhaps a truer portrayal of the

country's frame of mind than that of the latter. He said:

I know not how the Poles will regard the new act. But, in any event, it will be hard for us to blame them. We were unable to defend them, we let them pass into the temporary possession of the conquerors, and we cannot demand of them to have the courage to stand up against the iron fist of Germany. I am profoundly convinced that the Poles will understand the German trick, will not err as to its real value, will not forget Posen, and, when unable to evade mobilization, will feel that they are not soldiers, but German captives. But should the case prove otherwise, should there be among them men caught in the trap, laboring under the illusion that, fighting us, they were fighting for Polish independence, we cannot blame them. We must recognize that we are guilty of much, that we ourselves helped the Germans to deceive the Poles. Our guilt is in the fact that after the Grand Duke's manifesto we behaved as if desiring to show that it should not have been taken seriously. We not only did not begin to elaborate the plans for the future restoration of Poland, but even forbade the use of the word autonomy in this connection. We covered ourselves with eternal shame by our administration of the region. We allowed an opportunity to pass us which cannot be returned.

Every and any act at the present moment would be an empty promise on our part. Therefore, in my opinion, it would be a mistake for us to answer to Germany's proclamation with a document of ours, with an announcement of restoring a country which we had not reconquered yet. But it is necessary to do something else, it is necessary to declare that the restoration of Poland cannot be the work of one group of states. The war will be ended at an international congress, and it is for the latter to reestablish Poland. But if the war ends as we hope it will, the new Poland will be created out of all its former parts. The future of Poland is no longer in our hands. Europe will have to take care of it. Poland will be reestablished, as the security of a lasting peace in Europe will demand.

Russian democracy, if Maklakoff should be regarded as its spokesman, considers the Polish problem from now on no longer a domestic question of Russia. Germany's recent action exempted it from that realm. But Vladimir Burtzeff sounds a warning to the Poles lest they be carried away by German promises and become traitors to the cause of the Allies:

Those Poles who from the very beginning of the war banded themselves of their own free will into Polish legions and fought side by side with the Germans against the French, English, Belgian, Serbian, and Russian soldiers are traitors to the cause of democracy and humanity.

And should Poland's independence be bought, in the case of German victory, at the price of such treason, then—*finis Polonia!*

This cry would reach the ears of the Poles from every country where for centuries they found nothing but love and sympathy.

THE DAY'S WORK FOR AN OCTOGEN- ARIAN EMPEROR

OUTSIDE of Austria comparatively little was known of the Emperor Francis Joseph's remarkable capacity for hard work, even in the later years of his long life. Writing when the Emperor had reached the age of eighty-two, a well-informed contributor to the *Neue Freie Presse*, of Vienna, said:

It is a familiar fact that the Emperor rises with the early dawn; in winter, hours before daybreak; in summer, with the rising sun, no matter how his rest may have been disturbed by the catarrh which has troubled him off and on in recent years. He is soon seated at his desk in order to dispose of the documents just received or of those left over from the previous day. The complicated administrative machinery of the Dual Monarchy, to whose varied important concerns military and court items are added, is a tremendous task upon the Emperor, even though most of the affairs—save where the administrative heads and the chiefs of departments appear directly before the monarch—are regularly submitted to the Cabinet Council.

The duties of the Minister of Foreign Affairs include not only the obtaining of instructions from the Emperor in very frequent audiences—at least two weekly—regarding the world policies which engage the monarch's most serious attention, but this minister also delivers the reports of the ambassadors and other diplomats, which the Emperor peruses very carefully, as well as of those consulates which are in a measure of a diplomatic nature.

The Imperial Minister of Finance has charge of the Bosnian report, which entails a minute exposition and important decisions, as well as of the highly significant communications of the military chief of that country, which must be gone over. In Austria there are—since the Polish national ministry must be regarded as a firmly established "ministry for Galicia"—the head of the Cabinet and nine heads of departments, who present almost daily (the former even more frequently) at least one report in writing to the Cabinet Council. The same is true of Hungary. It is not surprising, therefore, that, according to its own records, the ministry submits from 6000 to 7000 documents annually to the Emperor for his decision, and in most instances for his signature also. These do not include those important political decisions at which this ruler of eighty-two arrives after many hours' consultation with the ministers, and espe-

cially some of the official dignitaries, and which are delivered as oral orders.

The burden put upon the aged Emperor by the war department must have been enormously increased after August 1, 1914, but even in peace times, we are told that about 4000 papers were presented every year by army officers either for the purpose of giving necessary information to His Majesty or to



Photograph by Paul Thompson

EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH AT HIS DESK

obtain his signature. Part of the responsibility for military affairs was at one time transferred to the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, but Francis Joseph continued to be fully informed about his army.

This writer estimates that at that time (1912) the Emperor disposed personally of 12,000 state papers in the course of the year, exclusive of the formal communications of which he took cognizance.

Every working day the documents to be disposed of—placed upon shelves in a wheeled stand and arranged according to subjects—are brought into the office. They are taken up in turn and examined with the unparalleled exactitude which so singularly characterizes the Emperor, and, either simply signed by him or supplemented by the famous brief marginal notes and queries, are returned to the respective departments. The papers that have been disposed of are dropped into the lower shelves of the stand, and, according to well-established custom, the military attendant on duty, or a Cabinet

official, steps gently into the room so as not to disturb His Majesty, takes all the "settled" matter from the lower compartments and returns the papers for a final disposition, according to the sovereign's orders, to the military or Cabinet officers. It is often a question of great masses and heaps of matter which would make many a subaltern groan under the weight of his almost overwhelming duties. And this work is performed by a man of eighty-two, who has always been parsimonious with the time devoted to recrea-

tion and at best shortened his hours of sleep in order to taste the pleasure of an early morning walk through the palace garden of Schönbrunn.

The writer says in conclusion:

Truly one who should wish to lay down his load by the wayside because he finds it too heavy should think of the burden borne by the foremost man of the realm, who to-day, after a reign of sixty-four years, has the greatest heart and the greatest capacity for work in all Austria.

THE NATIONAL GUARD AND ITS BORDER SERVICE

NOW that many units of the National Guard have been relieved from service on the Mexican border and have returned to their respective States, there has been a renewal of the discussion in the press concerning the value of the Guard's service and its probable effect on the life and growth of the organization.

A sentiment that seems very prevalent, if not practically unanimous at the present time, among the members of the Guard is clearly expressed in *Collier's* for December 9 by Captain Rupert Hughes, who served with the 69th New York Regiment. This feeling is summed up in the opening sentences of the article, in which Captain Hughes likens the National Guard to the victim of the familiar "hold the baby" trick, which is usually worked by a woman who rushes up to a man waiting for a train and says: "Oh, sir, please hold my baby for a few minutes while I run and find my other missing children. I will be right back." She never comes back.

So, on June 19 last, Captain Hughes says that Miss Columbia, sometimes known as the Gem of the Ocean, rushed up to the Guard, and said, with great excitement: "Oh, sir, please hold my border for a few minutes, while I run and get my regular army recruited up." The National Guard could do nothing but take the border, and it is still holding it. Columbia has never come back after it, because she could never get her army recruited up. There is a bear market so far as recruiting is concerned.

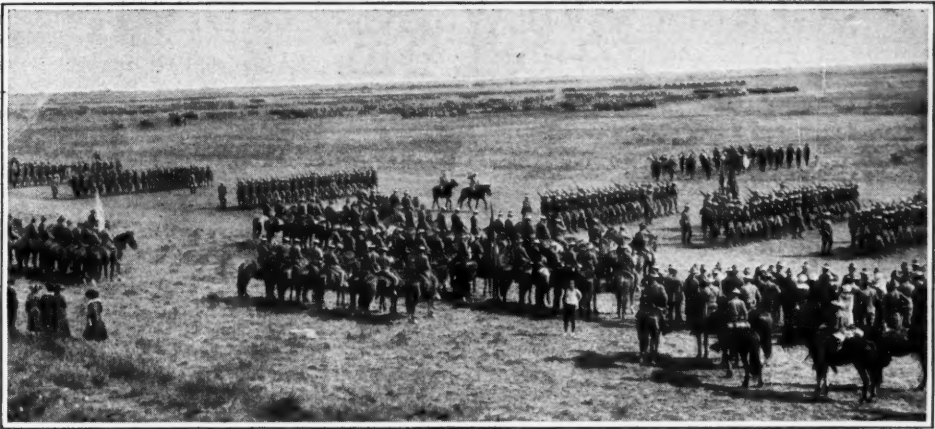
Captain Hughes maintains that we shall never be able to get volunteers at fifteen dollars a month for the regular army, and that we can no longer depend on a voluntary organization like the National Guard to do the work that properly belongs to the regular army in time of peace. It has cost the coun-

try more than \$100,000,000 to keep the Guard on the border for the past six months. Much of its equipment is still lacking. The training it has had is said to be inferior to what it could have got in its State encampments. Naturally there is little enthusiasm among the men. Indeed, Captain Hughes goes so far as to say that the present motto of the vast majority of the Guard is: "Never again!" Captain Hughes lays the blame on Uncle Sam himself:

Rather than pay more than \$15 to a private soldier, he is keeping on police duty men who could be earning, many of them, hundreds of dollars a month; he is fining their employers and partners; he is wrecking businesses; he is throwing families on the charity of other people.

If the Guard had been called out (as it was) rapidly and completely equipped (as it was not), concentrated along the border (as it was), drilled and taught to shoot and skirmish (far more than it was), rapidly replaced by rapidly recruited regular regiments (as it was not and they were not), sent home to appreciative fellow citizens and restored to its briefly vacated job (as it was not), we should have to-day a splendidly spirited, proud, and willing force of over 100,000 citizen soldiers well trained. And they would continue in the armory to perfect themselves for actual service.

As it is, the Guard was called out all of a sudden, the physically unfit replaced by untrained recruits, the regiments hurried to the trains or kept too long in State camps. They were sent down into a wilderness too wild for maneuvers, they were kept in dismal boredom while their jobs were lost, their opportunities missed, their rivals established. They feel that the country has ignored them; they feel that it still underestimates their sacrifice and is indifferent to their distress. The Guard will come home in a dangerous state of resentment; many of the men will feel perfectly justified in refusing to keep their oaths or obey any future summons. There will be practically no recruiting. For what inducement can the men inside the jail offer to the free men outside. We have now a demoralized Guard; no bigger army than before. A vast amount of money has been spent, millions of



A REVIEW OF NATIONAL GUARD UNITS ON THE BORDER

debts incurred, and half a year of invaluable time lost.

The crisis is greater than ever. And the need for haste is doubly acute.

Will the Guard Be Disbanded?

Whether this position is sound or not, there is little doubt that it is a popular one in the Guard. The *Seventh Regiment Gazette*, representing New York State's most famous military organization, which has lately returned from its border service, says in a recent issue:

This is the one question, outside of the probable date of the return of the balance of the Guard from the border, that is now uppermost in the minds of the officers and men in that service, the veterans of the many organizations throughout the country, and the regular army officers, who are looking ahead. What is the future of the National Guard? Have we seen its end? There is no question but that, if the present legislation stands as it is to-day, it will take four years before the National Guard will be so reduced in numbers that it will be disbanded. This is a broad and sweeping statement, but the only conclusion that can be drawn from the facts.

Almost without exception, every man in the Guard to-day, when his period of enlistment is up, is thorough for all time. This is true in all classes of organizations and in all States. Unless some provision is made to the effect that the National Guard cannot be called out by the President into the active service of the United States, for a period longer than sixty days unless a state of war exists, which will act as a guarantee to the men who take their oaths of enlistment in good faith, with the understanding that they would only be used in such service in case of a real national emergency, the National Guard is doomed.

Under the Hay bill, the organized militia may

now be mobilized whether there is a national emergency or not, and the men's patriotism taken advantage of at the expense of their business careers, simply to perform duty properly the job of a body of men similar to the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police. Whether it is strictly military or not, the fact remains that the foundation of the National Guard is built upon social and good-fellowship ideas, which lead men to join and to ask their friends to join. At the present time, when the Guard is mustered out, its members will not only not ask their friends to join, to meet the ever-present necessity of recruiting, but they will persuade them not to, and practically none will re-enlist themselves.

All this may be a good thing for the country in bringing us more quickly to the only really sensible state of preparedness—universal training—when we see our National Guard disbanded because of inability to recruit, and the entire reliance of the nation placed upon an undermanned navy and an undersized army that cannot even recruit up to its very small authorized strength. We of the Seventh felt that the military pay bill and the Federalization scheme were great mistakes. The rank and file of the National Guard throughout the country had no voice in the matter. A few State officers of high rank, influential at Washington, turned the trick, and before the bill became a law the Guard became victims of its provisions, as a result of the unexpected mobilization. Men will not allow themselves to be penalized for their patriotism more than once, and the spirit of "Let George do it," the exclusive property of the public, will prevail also in their conduct in the future. Then universal service will come.

In regard to the Seventh, regular army officers on the border have stated that, taken all in all, the enlisted men in its ranks constitute the greatest waste of volunteer officer material that they have ever seen. These remarks are similar to those made in the past wherever army officers have come in close contact with the regiment. Sensible legislation will ensure the continued existence of a military asset very valuable to the United States, even with universal training.

GERMAN VIEWS REGARDING HOLLAND

IN a recent number of *Die Alldeutsche Bewegung* (Berlin), Fritz Bley gives expression with great frankness to the German attitude towards Holland. Whether Holland shares these views is highly problematical. Mr. Bley declares boldly that German patriots need not be ashamed to confess that they have need of these Holland territories, already fertilized by German blood, for the enlargement of their economic domain.

We have need, upon a Rhine become German down to its outlet, of the free traffic which the silent resistance of Holland renders more difficult

for us. A customs union, a common organization for military and naval defense—the language of command being High German in the army, Low German in the fleet—a common attitude towards our possessions overseas, conducted in a spirit of Netherlands prudence and practical utility, such would be the object of the Germano-Netherlandic alliance.

If Holland were a simple continental power this alliance could not be constituted until such time as Germany could impose by force her just pretensions; but since the vast domain of transoceanic possessions of Holland is suffering daily under a growing menace, the lords commercial of the Amstel and the Meuse are urged towards our side by considerations of personal interest.

ITALY'S LABOR PROBLEMS AND THE WAR

THE effects on the Italian proletariat that will probably be set in operation by the war, and some of the measures and resources needed to carry out a wide-reaching policy for the amelioration of the conditions governing the life of the working classes, are presented in certain of their more important aspects by Signor Angiolo Cabrini, of the Italian Chamber of Deputies, in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome).

The writer's viewpoint is in no wise narrowly socialistic, and while favoring legislation and dispositions tending to improve the relative position of Italy's proletariat, he fully realizes the prime importance of maintaining intact the rights of all classes of her population, so that the citizens may become mutually helpful in building up national prosperity.

The writer insists that it should be borne in mind that the "laboring classes" do not only comprise the industrial, agricultural and commercial wage-earners, that the interests of all those of moderate means are quite reconcilable with an increased social and economic influence of these workers. The present cataclysm has made evident, in all fields of activity, public and private, the superiority of the collective organization of private enterprises, either directly by the government, or under governmental control. What seems miraculous in the resistance offered by Germany owes its origin to this,

and the allied powers have had to resort to it, that they may first resist, and then overcome their adversary.

The transition from the state of war to the state of peace will be rendered easier by an intermediate phase, which was lacking in the passage from peace to war; but the transition will nevertheless present great difficulties. The new currents of traffic, the increased wealth of the neutrals, the depreciation of the currency, the demobilizing of the army, the problems offered by the redistribution of labor, by the aid to be extended to the unemployed, by the defense of Italy's "man-power" against the snares of countries eager for this treasure, all this must be foreseen even by those—and the writer is of this number—who look with confidence upon the future of the national economy. The collaboration of the army and navy, of the leaders of industry and of the master-workmen, should bear good fruit.

A main requisite is to equalize taxation between the industrial concerns and the large land-holdings. Not only those industries directly connected with furnishing supplies to army and navy, but also all those industries that profit indirectly by the war, and are enabled to realize large profits because of the abnormal economic situation, should be made to pay their equitable share. The great land complexes, which have been too liberally dealt with so far, should be brought

within the incidence of the higher taxation necessary to meet war charges, and after the war to relieve the laboring classes from the extra expenses due to the higher cost of living. The central idea that should guide Italy's policy in all these matters, Signor Cabrini defines as follows: the nationalization of the industries essential for national defense, by making them conform to a perfect type, and giving them an extension such that the passage to defensive action will be facilitated.

As regards pensions for invalidism and old age, the writer demands to know why

the state delays to profit by the great prosperity of the mobilized industries to require obligatory insurance by contributions from the workmen and the proprietors. The high salaries and the great profits would admit of deductions sufficient to constitute, at the end of the war, a first nucleus of workmen inscribed in the National Provident Fund, so regulated that the workmen would receive as much as though they had paid from their youth upward. This would constitute a great political gain and would be a powerful aid to the working classes throughout the country.

THE COST OF COAL

THE advanced cost of coal during the autumn and early winter has been brought home with force to householders as well as to many industrial interests. So serious has been this increase that as a result of universal complaints and protests there have been various official investigations and remedial steps proposed to deal with the high cost of fuel.

Few of these investigations and discussions have been entirely free from prejudice or have taken into consideration the fundamental economic facts connected with the ownership of the mines, and the mining, transportation, and distribution of coal. Accordingly a paper on the subject presented to the American Mining Congress at Chicago on November 14, 1916, by Director George Otis Smith and C. E. Leshner of the United States Geological Survey, and reprinted in *Science* and other scientific journals, is particularly welcome, as it supplies the fundamental facts on which any present or future plans for Government control or operation or ownership must be based. Such facts, it is unnecessary to say, seldom appear in popular or political discussions, even if they are known, which may be disputed.

In the coal industry the first cost or mining cost represents the value given to a ton of coal by the mine operator and mine worker, including the expenditure for wages, supplies and power, the operator's selling costs and his overhead expenses, and the original or resource cost—the royalty or depletion charge—and the profit or loss on the sale. These elements vary greatly between districts, and even between mines of

the same owners in the same district. According to the paper, "It is not practicable to assign a very exact figure to the mining cost—the census of 1909 indicated an average of \$1 a ton for bituminous coal and \$1.86 for anthracite, but these figures are believed by some operators to be too low. It is possible, however, to show in a general way the distribution of this item: the cost of mining is divided between labor, 70 to 75 per cent.; materials 16 to 20 per cent., general expense at mine and office and insurance, 2 to 4 per cent.; taxes, less than 1 per cent. to 3 per cent. for bituminous coal, and 3 to 7 per cent. for anthracite; selling expense, nothing to 5 per cent.; and recently to these items has been added the direct and indirect cost of workman's compensation, which may reach 5 per cent. for bituminous coal."

Now the cost of selling coal must be considered, for it may be little or nothing for some producers who sell to themselves or direct to the railways, or it may be as much as 15 cents a ton for prepared sizes of anthracite. But the important element is the transportation charge, which varies naturally with the length of haul.

In the interstate traffic, both rail and water, bituminous coal probably pays an average freight of nearly \$2 per ton. In other words, the transportation costs more than the product and, as some parts of the country are just now learning, is more difficult to obtain. The value of coal, like the value of so many other commodities, is a place value. The average freight charge on anthracite is higher than that on bituminous coal; first, because the rates are higher, and, second, because, according to the reports of the Interstate Commerce Commission, all movement considered, the coal is carried a greater distance.

Then comes the marketing cost. The commissions of brokers, shrinkage, and deterioration all figure, and finally there is the large cost of retailing.

About half of the anthracite and around 15 per cent. of the bituminous coal is retailed in less than carload lots, and the greatest number of individuals are directly concerned in the marketing of this portion, regarding the profits on which there is the widest divergence of opinion. The margin in the retail business between cost on cars and price delivered is between \$1.25 and \$2 a ton and is not more than enough to give on the average a fair profit. The shrinkage and, in part, the deterioration are together seldom less than one per cent. of the weight and may exceed four per cent., and the retail dealer also must provide in his selling price for uncollectible accounts. Advertising is a large expense—in part carried by the retailer directly, but all borne by the industry. The largest single item in the cost of retailing is, of course, that representing the labor of handling and the local cartage, which together make up about half the marketing cost.

With all these various costs discussed and analyzed, there remains to be considered a primary one, namely, the resource cost or the cost to the operator of the coal in the ground, usually expressed as a royalty or depletion charge.

The present average rate of royalty on anthracite is probably between 32 and 35 cents a ton on all sizes, which is from 12 to 14 per cent. of the selling value at the mine. The minimum rate (about 10 per cent.) is found in some old leases, and the maximum (20 to 27 per cent.) in leases made in the last five years. R. V. Norris states that in the late sixties, when the annual output of anthracite was around 15,000,000 tons, royalties were 8 to 10 cents a ton on prepared sizes, but that no charge was made on the smaller sizes. In the seventies the rate rose to 25 cents on prepared, one-half that on pea, and one-fourth on smaller sizes.

Striking a balance between labor's share and capital's return, it would be found that "the mine worker, the trainman, and wagon driver together receive fully half of the price of the anthracite delivered at your house, and the same three classes of labor receive not less than half the price paid by the average consumer for the cheaper soft coal. In a similar manner the average return on the capital invested in land, mining plant, railroads and coal yard may be roughly calculated with the result that landlord, bondholder and stockholder of coal company and railroad together receive about \$1.15 from the ton of anthracite and only 50 to 75 cents from the ton of bituminous coal, and of either of these amounts the mine

operator's share is only a small fraction."

There seems to be little hope of reducing costs in mining methods or wages, but the most promising source of relief seems to lie in reducing transportation charges through a shortened length of haul.

Though many a consumer's preference for coal from a distant field over that from a field nearer home is based on special requirements, the deciding element in the preference of other consumers is simply the price, and this, in turn, may be largely due to a differential freight scale, which is thus not in the public interest, if we admit the premise that it is wasteful to burn coal in hauling coal into coal districts or past such districts, except in so far as quality requirements absolutely demand the long-haul coal. The recent eastward movement of the higher-grade coals, in part caused by the export demand, may involve some increase in the average length of haul, and thus in the transportation cost of coal not exported; but, on the other hand, this enforced adjustment may lead some consumers to discover nearer-home sources of coal equally well suited to their purposes. Reduction in marketing costs is a reform so close to the consumer that he should be able to find for himself whatever relief is possible. Professor Mead, of the University of Pennsylvania, is authority for the statement that the delivery of coal is costing the dealers 50 cents a ton more than is necessary.

The paper suggests that "The burden that seems evitable under unregulated private ownership of a natural resource like coal is that, because the lands containing these national reserves of heat and power are taxed and because the individual or corporation properly charges up interest at current rates on his large holding, the consumer must pay a resource cost which takes into account the long period of undevelopment."

The conclusion is drawn that "as coal is more an interstate than intrastate commodity, any regulation of prices needs to be under federal control, and to benefit both consumer and producer such control cannot stop with transportation and mining costs, but must stand ready to exercise full rights as a trustee of the people over the coal in the ground. . . . Public regulation, however, will be fair and indeed in the long run will prove beneficial to the landowner as well as to the consumer, to the mine worker as well as the operator, because any such agency as the Federal Trade Commission, in its control of prices, must determine costs; and as we interpret the present attitude of the whole coal-mining industry the operators are willing to rest their case on a fair determination of actual costs on which their profits may then be figured."

DRINKING AMONG SCHOOL BOYS

SOME time ago a schoolmaster of Cologne, astonished at the poor work done on Mondays by the fifty-four boys in his class, questioned them as to the manner in which Sunday had been spent. He learned that nineteen had spent the evening before in some café or beer-garden, that twenty had taken wine, twenty-four beer, and nineteen brandy; seventeen had had both wine and beer, fourteen had had wine, beer, and brandy, ten had been very tipsy, and eight had been nauseated.

Writing of this in the *Gartenlaube* (Berlin), Dr. E. Hoppe remarks that not only do hygienists declare that water is the only suitable beverage for children, but that pedagogues are convinced that the cerebral activity of the child and his intellectual development demand complete abstention from alco-

holic drinks at least till the age of fifteen or sixteen years.

Dr. Boyer, of Vienna, requested a certain number of school directors to divide their 591 pupils into three categories: good, adequate, and inadequate. Then, with their aid, he divided these into five classes: (1) those to whom alcoholic drinks were unknown; (2) those who drank occasionally; (3) those who drank beer once a day; (4) those who drank it twice daily; (5) those who drank it thrice. The results were as follows:

	Good	Adequate	Inadequate
(1)	41.8%	49.2%	9.0%
(2)	34.1%	56.6%	9.5%
(3)	27.8%	58.4%	13.7%
(4)	24.9%	57.7%	18.3%
(5)	24.9%	33.3%	66.6%

Whence the conclusion that the water-drinker is almost always at least among the adequate, if not among the good, scholars.

DIAGNOSIS IN PULMONARY AND OTHER MALADIES—ITS IMPORTANCE

AT a dinner recently given in New York City by the Diagnostic Society it was announced that about half the funds needed for the building and grounds of the Diagnostic Hospital to be erected by the society had already been pledged. In an impressive speech Dr. Mandelbaum, the president, declared that in New York City alone 3,000,000 people are suffering from the inability of general practitioners to obtain proper facilities for complete diagnosis, with insidious disease, chronic illness and premature death as the unhappy results of this lack.

It is obvious that various degenerative diseases of the lungs, the heart, the alimentary canal or the several organs of elimination may present in their early stages symptoms so similar in character that only the trained expert is able to discriminate as to the true cause.

Moreover, such experts must have at their command the most modern, delicate and costly apparatus. For example, in spite of the enormous increase during recent years in heart disease, only seven physicians among the 8000 living in or near New York City are equipped, according to Dr. Mandelbaum, with complete and proper apparatus for making a thorough examination of the heart.

It is not generally known that tubercles

in the lungs are not always due to the specific bacillus discovered by Koch in 1882. There are, in fact, certain minute fungi which give rise to similar symptoms, and it is highly important that there should be a correct diagnosis as early as possible, since these cases of "false tuberculosis" prepare the way for the deadly Koch bacillus. Such diagnosis is accomplished by microscopic examination. We find an account of these affections in the well-known Spanish magazine *Por Esos Mundos* (Madrid):

Pseudo-tuberculosis is frequently due to microscopic fungi, of which three principal species are now known: pulmonary *aspergillosis*, *oosporosis*, and *mycormicosis*.

Aspergilar pseudo-tuberculosis, which has been well known for some years, is due to the development in the pulmonary tract of a species of fungus called *aspergillus frumigatus*. The spores of this are found in the atmosphere, on trees, and, above all, on the surface of fruits. Birds, especially doves, may contract the affection by eating contaminated fruit, a small tumor being formed in the mouth. In this way pigeon-fanciers may become infected. Besides these, those specially open to infection are men engaged in handling grain and seed and wool-carders.

The symptoms of this pulmonary *aspergillosis* exhibit the same characteristics as those of true tuberculosis. The victims become emaciated, lose their strength, cough up bloody sputum, have night sweats, and at the last high fever.

Auscultation, we are told, merely confirms the error in diagnosis occasioned by the foregoing symptoms, since it likewise indicates Koch's tuberculosis. It is absolutely necessary to make an examination by microscope. It will then be found that the sputum does not contain the Koch bacillus, but does show the presence of the myceline filaments of fungi, which can be readily cultivated in Raolin's liquid. This bacterial examination is of the highest chemical importance, since if the victim does not promptly undertake curative treatment, the specific Koch bacillus gradually substitutes itself for the primitive fungus in the invaded organ.

Among the forms of pulmonary oosporosis, one of the longest known is pulmonary *actinomyces*. This is produced by the fungus *actinomyces* and attacks both men and cattle. Contagion is habitually contracted by grain-plants impregnated with this micro-organism. It is sufficient for the flesh to be penetrated by a single husk of wheat or oats. The disease may also develop from the inhalation of the dust stirred up when the grain is handled or moved. The localization of this malady is in the mouth or neck; it passes by extension or by the primitive method to the lung, which may become affected with all the symptoms of tuberculosis, at times complicated with pleurisy.

Here, too, it is necessary to have the sputum examined by the microscope. Aside from the *actinomyces* there exist in nature numerous oospores capable of causing lesions

in the mouth, eyes, or lungs. An *oospora pulmonalis* has been recently discovered which causes lesions identical with those of tuberculosis.

There exist other fungi belonging to the family of the mycorinas: the *rizomycor parasiticus* and the *mycor corymbifer* have been detected in invalids of long standing whose cases have been diagnosed as "slow consumption."

These discoveries are of great practical interest, since persistence in the error of diagnosis is highly prejudicial to the invalid. In fact, individuals attacked with the forms of pulmonary mycosis mentioned can be cured by the institution of adequate treatment when the nature of the malady is discovered in time. It should be noted that the major part of those invalids who grow better under the use of mineral waters containing sulphur or arsenic are precisely those in whom the Koch bacillus is not found, but whose sputum reveals the presence of myceline filaments.

It has been proved by numerous experiments that iodine, suitably administered in cases of this class of pseudo-tuberculosis and of true tuberculosis, often occasions improvement or cure, especially when a preparation is selected which is easily tolerated, such as that known as tri-iodo (triyodo), which is invaluable in such cases.

If, on the other hand, the pseudo-tuberculosis is not detected and not suitably treated, the malady develops and progresses towards phthisis or dilatation of the bronchial tubes.

The article closes with the recommendation that all invalids who cough, spit, or lose flesh should have microscopic examination of the sputum.

THE INFLUENCE OF FEMINISM UPON PEACE

ONE of the most remarkable and unexpected by-products of the present war has been the tremendous impetus given to the cause of feminism. In almost every department of human activity hitherto pre-empted by men, women have proved themselves zealous, skilful, and acceptable workers. Many of them have tasted for the first time the joys and rewards of economic independence, and with it has come its inevitable concomitant, independence of thought and action.

Many observers predict that, having thus put their hands to the plow in the emergencies created by masculine conflict, women will be more determined than ever to claim the right of having their voices heard in council. If this prediction of the extension of suffrage to women as a result of the effi-

ciency and devotion displayed by them be fulfilled, it is possible that they may help to solve the problem of the attainment of a permanent world peace. It seems certain that their votes would be cast in favor of the projected European Federation whose object is the elimination of international conflict by means of international legislation and an international army. A writer in *La Revue Mensuelle* (Geneva) holds that this ideal would cease to be a Utopian dream if women's influence becomes politically cogent. The first step towards its realization, he declares, must be the formation of public opinion, and in such formation women will take an important part. He writes:

Among all the social questions raised, that of feminism appears to us to be of capital importance. In a general fashion, theoretically,

woman is an altruist, man an egoist. The woman, if she be married, thinks only of her husband and her children. The sacrifices of the maternal instinct are innumerable. Even if a woman desired a given war as being both just and profitable, she would renounce the idea when she remembered that it would strike less at herself than at her husband and her children.

The false point of honor would quickly disappear in her eyes. She would yield as soon as reasonable conditions of peace were proposed.

At the present time such efforts are made to excite hate and passion that this natural pacific instinct and altruism seem to be somewhat abated.

In man, his mental structure and psychology, together with the abstraction made by certain social and political elements, form the principal obstacle to the abolition of war. If the woman occupied the position of the man the situation would be entirely contrary; her instincts would

reinforce her reason and would be a precious auxiliary for this happy suppression.

The writer continues his argument by contending that the education of the male tends to emphasize a false idea of honor, and that his heredity transmits the germs of conflict.

If military service augments these tendencies in men, in woman her cloistered habits favor contrary tendencies. The courage of man is active, stamped with combativeness; that of woman is passive.

If a parliament were composed half of men and half of women the psychologic motives favorable to war would disappear in this fusion; there would remain only the motives of ethnic hatreds and the various national interests of the moment.

THE CLASSIC LITERATURE OF COLOMBIA

THE national literature of Colombia is fundamentally Spanish in character and spirit, says Gomez Restrepo, writing in *Cultura* (Bogota), though it possesses individual traits which give it a distinct personality. He continues:

Look at Ruben Dario, for example; though he was French in spirit, he did not pretend to emancipate himself from the sound tradition; and, therefore, after having paid a first visit to Spain in quest of consecration for his genius, he returned later to the peninsula as master of a new literary generation.

But though our great poets may have been inspired by the antiquity or the literature of Spain—or, on the contrary, by Italian, French, or English poetry—they have perpetuated in magnificent verse the peculiar and expressive aspects of their native land, and they have been not merely poets born in Colombia, but *Colombian poets*.

In Colombia there are but few examples of the novel in the past, but these few are illustrious, whether in the form of an idyll, such as *Maria*, or in the sort of realistic narration essayed by Eugenio Diaz in 1866 in *Manuela*, or, finally, in the works of the moralists of the epoch of *Mosaico*, to which we owe some of the best pages of our national literature.

In our modern era Anioquia has seen the brilliance of a school of regionalist novelists, among whom Tomas Carrasquilla, whose *Frutos de mi tierra* has merited the praise of Pereda, stands in the first rank. These authors have demonstrated that regionalism properly understood can produce works whose success transcends the narrow limits of a territory or a province.

Pax, which is the offspring of a son of Bogota, does not bear this character, since we have here no case of regionalism. It is a study of national

manners observed under one of their most dramatic and least amiable aspects—that of interior convulsions and political struggles.

Mr. Restrepo expresses pleasure in the fact that historical studies are exerting a marked attraction on the younger writers of the day. The National Academy of History is the center of such efforts. Among veteran writers of merit in this field are Restrepo Tirado, Ibanez Posada, Leon Gomez, Henao, and Arrubla.

Side by side with these we find also certain younger men who work with patriotism, intelligence, and decision—Luis Augusto Cuervo and Nicolas Garcia Zamudio, José Maria Restrepo and Fabio Lozano y Lozano, Cortazar, Duran y Villaveces, etc.—and, dominating over all of them, Raimundo Rivas, one of the most vigorous talents and happiest craftsmen of the younger generation.

These understand the modern methods which history has adopted among cultured peoples . . . they have an affection for the epoch of the "*guerra magna*" and the great figures of antique Colombia; they know also that veritable history demands the aid of the literary art to distinguish itself from the labors of the simple annalist. Those who have formed themselves upon the study of the masterpieces of Taine and of Sorel, of Houssaye and of Vandal, know that, despite the vastness and the elegance of these structures, they are none the less solid, built as they are upon meticulous first-hand investigation.

VERHAEREN, BELGIUM'S SPOKESMAN

WHAT Poland has suffered in the loss of Sienkiewicz, Belgium has felt in the untimely death of Émile Verhaeren, the poet of Belgian nationalism, who was crushed to death in a railroad accident at Rouen, France, on the twenty-seventh day of November. A review of Verhaeren's literary accomplishment, with comment on the salient characteristics of his genius, together with translations from an article in *La Grande Revue* (Paris), by Georg Brandes, appeared in the August number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for the year 1912.

It requires only a cursory examination of his literary work to find that Verhaeren has expressed therein the spiritual significance of Belgian patriotism. His great imaginative and tragic powers, his lyric abundance and love of the soil, combined to make him a champion of artistic and political freedom, and of a national honor that must give a people over to physical annihilation rather than yield a single foot of the soil of Belgium willingly to an unlawful invader.

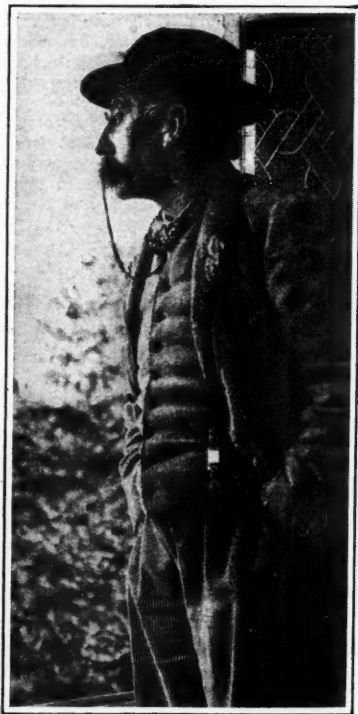
The New York *Evening Post* makes comment on his death in the following editorial note:

The death of Verhaeren is unquestionably that of one of the greatest poets of the early twentieth century in Europe—even the Germans have not failed to give him his due rank. It recalls the fact that the little strip of Belgian territory, which a generation ago was almost barren of genius, has in our time produced enough poets and dramatists to make its great neighbors envious. Max Waller and Albert Giraud ushered in *la jeune Belgique*, which in verse and prose has expressed the life of the French, Flemish, and Walloon elements as the life of few nations has been rendered. "There is no modern writer more national than Verhaeren," says Edmund Gosse, "and to study his poems is to gain such an impression of 'Toute la Flandre' as is to be found nowhere else."

Before the rebellion of the poets in this country against the restraint of classical meters, Verhaeren had shaken off every obligation and was writing poetry in a style which Georg Brandes calls "a powerful, virile euphony, always sonorous, occasionally harsh. Some of his best and most melodic work is now translated into English. The last volume to appear is "The Sunlit Hours," which are given a truly poetic rendering by Charles R. Murphy.¹ The poems of this collection were written to his wife. They are in delicacy and spiritual interpretation of romantic love equal to the greatest English love poetry ever written.

In these poems the purely lyrical side of Verhaeren's genius is uppermost; love of nature dominates his inspiration, and his trend toward symbolism is apparent in every poem.

The following quotation is one of the tributes to a marriage that blessed



ÉMILE VERHAEREN

a period of his life.

Was there ever in us one caress,
One joyous laugh, or tenderness
We dared not strew before us on our way?
Or ever prayer in silence heard,
Whose dim unuttered word
We sought to stay?
A single yearning of compassion,
A quiet vow or one of passion,
We sought to slay?
So loving thus,
Our hearts, like two apostles, went
Seeking the lowly ones with timid brow,
Who feeling then so bound to us,
Proclaimed on high love's ravishment,
As a flowery people loves the bough
That holds them bathed in the sun's warm ray;
Our soul, grown greater still by this rebirth,
Began to glory those who feel love's sway,
Increasing love by love's own might,
To cherish thus divinely the whole earth
That seemed reflected in our own soul's light.

¹ The Sunlit Hours. Émile Verhaeren. Translated by Charles R. Murphy. John Lane. 72 pp. \$1.

HEIDENSTAM, THE SWEDISH POET

THE new winner of the Nobel prize for literature is the popular Swedish poet, Verner Von Heidenstam. Charles Wharton Stork compares him to our New England poet, Robert Frost, in an article that summarizes his life and poetical work in the *Nation* (New York), of November 30. He writes that while Heidenstam differs in many respects from Frost, there is one remarkable similarity, the power of intensification and compression. Particularly is this noticeable in the poem "Childhood Friends," which resembles a novel of Henry James compressed into verse.

The two poets differ principally in this respect, that while the poems of Robert Frost seem actual transcripts of life "records of facts," the style of Heidenstam is the setting of an exotic, artistic sensibility that gathers from life bits of color, moods, searchings into spiritual states, symbolic incident, and illuminates the mind with sudden flashing generalizations made from these detached observations. Still for all this which seems foreign to general popularity among the masses of the common people, Heidenstam was placed second, following first choice of Gustave Fröding, in a vote taken by a Swedish newspaper last summer to select poems for an anthology of Swedish verse to be translated into English.

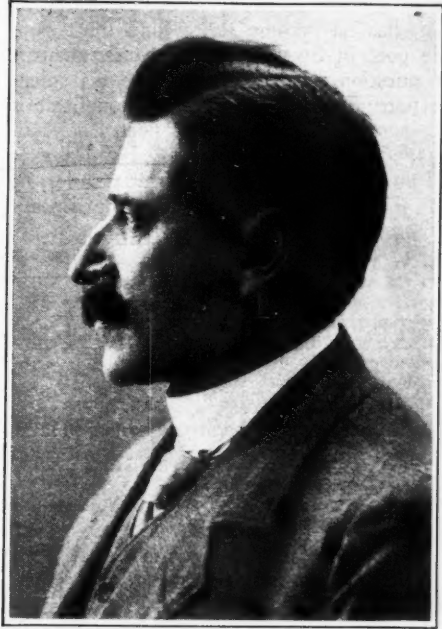
After him, however, followed a tie between Heidenstam and Erik Axel Karlfeldt, another living poet. To be placed next to Fröding in Swedish poetry is a popular tribute of which anyone might be proud, and it is no disparagement to Heidenstam's talent that he is tied with Karlfeldt, a poet of splendid vigor and one who usually makes a much wider appeal.

Heidenstam has Francis Thompson's sensitiveness, and in his lavish use of color is akin to Rossetti and to the Austrian philosophical poet of the present day, Hugo von Hoffmannsthal. He is, however, much less consistent in developing his thought than is any of the other three. Perhaps for this very reason he seems more earnest.

Gradually, after much re-reading, the depth and power of the poet begin to fascinate the student. The sensation is something like looking down into the ocean through a confusion of waves and gloomy seaweeds, until finally, far below, glimpses of something rich and strange begin to attract the eye.

Heidenstam's first volume of verse, written after the poet had spent a long period in the Orient and in Italy, "Pilgrimage and Wanderings," gives us impressions that resolve into the record of the poet's pursuit of beauty.

Jan.—7



VERNER VON HEIDENSTAM
(Awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature, 1916)

A novel, "Hans Alienus," which followed the book of verse, is of the same literary texture. A second collection of poems appeared in 1895.

Again he continued in a novel the mood initiated in lyric poetry, his "The Carolines" being a vivid description of the war between Charles XII and Peter the Great. Other novels, and historical sketches followed, which, according to Mr. Edmund Gosse, entitle their author to rank "as a prose-writer whose monumental simplicity and classic beauty of style leave him without a rival among his contemporaries."

A third book of poems was published in 1915. During the greater part of the years of Heidenstam's literary activity, he has been the principal figure in the reaction in Sweden against the gloom and morbidity of Strindberg, and in this he was "seconded by Oscar Levertin (1862-1906), a mystical poet, novelist, and essayist of Jewish descent."

Verner Von Heidenstam was born in 1859. His parents were of the nobility, and every advantage of travel and education was given him in his youth. His wanderings have given him a power of sympathy with different classes of people, but his birth and up-

bringing have made him logically a poet concerned with intensive themes and the phenomena of his own spiritual development. How, then, has he become the second most popular poet in Sweden? Mr. Stork answers the question with a reference to his splendid patriotic poetry. At first thought it is surprising that Heidenstam's poetry is popular at all; his style is compressed and abrupt and at first repellant. But what wonder, he asks, that the author of the following lines is dear to his fellow-countrymen?

SWEDEN

Oh, Sweden, Sweden, Sweden, native land,
Our earthly home, the haven of our longing!
The cow-bells ring where heroes used to stand,
Whose deeds are song, but still with hand in hand
To swear the ancient troth thy sons are
throthing.

Fall, winter snow! And sigh, on earth's deep
breast!

Ye orient stars, burn in the summer sky!
Sweden, dear mother, be our strife, our rest,
Thou land wherein our sons shall build their nest,
Beneath whose churchyard stones our fathers
lie.

SIENKIEWICZ GREATEST OF MODERN POLES

JUST as the hour has struck when Poland, once the most magnificent country of Europe, has again the hope of a national existence, there comes the news of the death at Vevey, Switzerland, of Poland's most commanding figure, Henry Sienkiewicz.

Henry Adams Bellows writes in an article, "Sienkiewicz and the New Deluge," in the *Bellman* (Minneapolis), of November 2, that "to most people Polish literature frankly means Sienkiewicz, and Sienkiewicz means 'Quo Vadis'." The great cosmopolitan genius of Lithuanian Poland was born in Wola Okrejska, Lithuania, in 1845, of noble parentage. While his tastes remained patrician, his love for the actual soil of his country led him to the exploration of every corner of Poland and begat in him an intense sympathy with the common people and their needs. He graduated at the University of Warsaw at the age of twenty-two and spent a period in travel. In 1876, he came to America with a party of expatriated artists and musicians who wished to establish a Polish commonwealth in America. One of these distinguished exiles was the famous actress, Helena Modjeska. They settled for a time in the little village of Anaheim in Southern California. Modjeska relates in her memoirs that while she was still in Poland, in 1875, Sienkiewicz fired the imagination of the group with fervid descriptions of America and the Golden West gained from reading books descriptive of the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, and of the flourishing new country of opportunity and freedom.

In 1880, Sienkiewicz began the great trilogy that established his fame:

"Fire and Sword," which describes the Cossack invasion of the Polish Commonwealth under Helinski (1647-1651); "The Deluge," which deals with the Swedish invasion of Poland in 1655 and with the expulsion of the Swedes from the Polish Commonwealth, and "Pan Michael," which narrates the events of the Turkish invasion of Poland, terminating with the siege of Kamenyets. The epilogue of this work gives later events, the Battle of Hotin, 1674, and the final triumph of Poland under Sobieska.

When Sienkiewicz wrote these stories his country was prostrate, indeed, but at peace. Abortive attempts at revolt had apparently proved that Poland could no longer even dream of a future as an independent and united nation. None the less, in some ways it was not unhappy. If Danzig was a German city, Warsaw a Russian, Cracow an Austrian, at least these three cities and the lands around them were prosperous. The Poles were still treated unjustly, still denied the rights that should have been theirs, but the period of open physical brutality, of wholesale robbery and slaughter seemed to have reached an end. "The Deluge" appeared to be merely a story of the remote past.

But when the great Polish novelist, wealthy and full of honors as the result of the enormous popularity of his stories, was nearly seventy years old, a second deluge burst upon his country. Three-fourths of the old Polish kingdom has been made a battleground in the past two years, much of it not once only, but several times as the tide of victory ebbed and flowed. Invasion has swept over Russian Poland from the German and Austrian border to the Dwina and the Marshes of Pinsk; it has ravaged part of the old Ukraine of the Cossacks. Four times, with advancing and retreating armies, part of German Poland has been made a desert; only a few square miles of Austrian Poland have escaped conquest and reconquest. Sienkiewicz's "Deluge" has been acted once more, and before the author's eyes.

THE NEW BOOKS

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY

THREE contemporaries in the ranks of American authorship—comrades for more than a third of a century—are associated once again through the publication at this time of intimate personal memoirs. The senior member of the trio, Edmund Clarence Stedman, died nine years ago, at the age of seventy-five. As poet and critic he had held a place of real leadership in his generation, and shortly after his death there was published a two-volume biography which duly commemorated his lifework. Miss Fuller's book¹ is less formal and has to do only with the poet's boyhood and adolescence at Norwich, Conn. New England village life in the first half of the nineteenth century is vividly pictured in Miss Fuller's chapters. "A New England Childhood" gives a sense of actuality that few biographies attain.

"Years of My Youth" is the title that Mr. Howells has chosen for the delightful chapters that relate his life story up to the time when he ventured abroad as a United States consul.² To his contemporaries the phrase seems quite as applicable to every period in his career, including the present; for if there is any man among us who has retained the youth of the spirit past three score and ten it is the author of "A Boy's Town." His formative years, which were passed in Ohio when pioneer conditions still obtained, were not wholly free from hardship and privation; his opportunities for schooling were even more curtailed than those that Stedman had enjoyed. He and Mr. Gilder were both graduates of the printing office, and in mature life they were both editors as well as writers.

While Howells was directing the *Atlantic Monthly* at Boston, in the seventies, Richard Watson Gilder was editor of *Scribner's Monthly*, which later became the *Century*, at New York. Each in his own way gave his magazine the

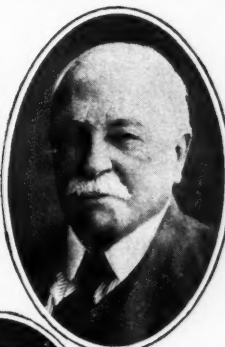
best that was in him, while he never lost sight of the highest ideals of individual creative effort. Howells began as a poet and later found his field in fiction-writing; Gilder's aim was always to write verse. But for a versifier his activities in New York grew more and more practical and multifarious. Something of what they were

revealed in the volume of "Letters," edited by Miss Rosamond Gilder.³

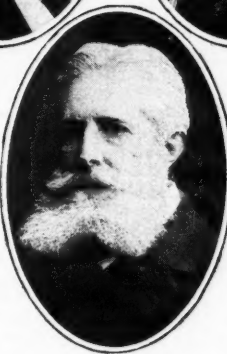
In the art movements of their day Mr. and Mrs. Gilder were always interested, and in his editorial position Mr. Gilder was able to do much to foster and encourage those movements. In the domain of public affairs the problems of international copyright, civil-service reform, improvement of city-housing conditions, and every form of municipal house-cleaning received Mr. Gilder's continuous and well-directed attention for many years. He became a close personal friend of Presidents Cleveland and Roosevelt and of many other public men. This volume of letters is the record of one of the most useful and honorable careers in recent New York history. Mr. Gilder, who was Mr. Stedman's junior by eleven years and Mr. Howells' by seven, died in 1909 at the age of sixty-five.



RICHARD
WATSON
GILDER



WILLIAM
DEAN
HOWELLS



EDMUND CLARENCE
STEDMAN

Dr. Allan McLane Hamilton's "Recollections of an Alienist" is charmingly unprofessional in style and scope. In some of the chapters the learned specialist seems lost for the time being in the story-teller and man of the world—to the delectation of the non-professional reader. The grandson of Alexander Hamilton—in 159 years there were only three generations of Hamiltons—is quite as truly a man of the twentieth century as his distinguished ancestor was a representative of the eighteenth. The reader of these "Recollections" is easily persuaded that some of the

¹ Letters of Richard Watson Gilder. Edited by his daughter, Rosamond Gilder. Houghton Mifflin Co. 515 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

² Recollections of an Alienist. By Allan McLane Hamilton. George H. Doran Co. 416 pp. Ill. \$3.50.

³ A New England Childhood. By Margaret Fuller. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 294 pp. \$1.50.

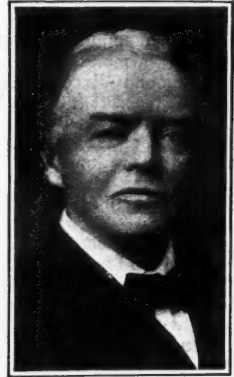
² Years of My Youth. By W. D. Howells. Harper & Bros. 239 pp. \$2.

mental vigor that made Washington's Secretary of the Treasury the ablest controversialist of his day may have been transmitted to our own time through the workings of heredity. At any rate there is not a dull page in the book—not one that fails to reflect in a distinctive way the

as an expert witness in some of the most famous criminal trials of recent times.

It is of importance to Americans to know what was the determining thought in the mind of one of the greatest of American philosophers, the late Josiah Royce, the last year of his life. A collection of essays written during this period are published under the title, "The Hope of the Great Community."¹ One of the essays is largely autobiographical. Although Professor Royce held the chair of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity at Harvard, he was a native of California and his birthplace

was a mining town in the Sierra Nevada. Among the influences that molded his life he mentions the teachings of Joseph LeConte, his friendship with Edward Rowland Sill, the literary influence of Herbert Spencer and John Stuart Mill, his work at Johns Hopkins University, and the lectures of the great Germans, Lotze, Schopenhauer, and Kant. His topics include "The Attitude of Americans in the Present War," "The



DR. JOSIAH ROYCE

Destruction of the *Lusitania*," "The First Anniversary of the Sinking of the *Lusitania*," "The Possibility of International Insurance," and the title essay. While Dr. Royce felt deeply his own elemental opposition to the community in certain strong prejudices engendered by the events of the war, he asserted that he tried by all his teachings to show "that we are saved by the community." He hoped the "Great Community" would see better times, but for himself, he wished not to survive the crisis.



DR. ALLAN M'LANE HAMILTON

author's individual mentality. Dr. Hamilton was the friend of Louis Agassiz, of Edwin Booth, of Sir Henry Irving, and of many other brilliant personages of whom he has treasured reminiscences. He has traveled much and has appeared

PLACES AND PEOPLE

THERE is a quality in the seaport towns of any country that tempts the pen. And of our own seaport towns (with the possible exception of San Francisco), those of New England, wherein our hardy forefathers began the making of the American nation, have a quality, a charm to the native American unequaled by anything in England or on the Continent. Hildegard Hawthorne presents these old towns in a delightful, chatty volume: Portland, Portsmouth, Newburyport, Salem, Beverly, Gloucester, Marblehead, Plymouth, New Bedford, Provincetown, New London, and New Haven.² Much of her keen observation and reminiscence touches the spirit with the potent spell of history that is intimately and inextricably wound about the lives of one's forebears. The author has felt the beauty underlying the grimness of the New England shores; the dignity in those old houses that overlook the sea,

that in appropriateness and artistic proportions shame those of the present. Even the old warehouses and wharves and shipyards have not escaped her appreciation, and these are given further security in our memories by a series of exquisite drawings by John Albert Seaford.

"Boston is a mature city, a mellow city, a city of experience and experiences, a city of amenities, a city of age," Mr. Robert Shackleton writes in "The Book of Boston."³ One can say much more, as the author has done, by way of reasons for the writing of a good-sized volume on Boston. It was once the crux of a great movement that still lends spiritual fervor to its classic ground; it has possessed from its beginnings beauty and dignity and charm, and now it stands unique

¹ Old Seaport Towns of New England. By Hildegard Hawthorne. Dodd, Mead. 312 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

² The Book of Boston. By Robert Shackleton. Philadelphia: The Penn Co. 332 pp. \$2.

³ The Hope of the Great Community. By Josiah Royce. Macmillan. 136 pp. \$1.

among American cities—particularly so since the beginning of the European war—in its evocation of the historical perspective of the American nation. Mr. Shackleton wisely does not attempt to tell everything about Boston; he touches its high lights and executes a magnificent sketch that stirs the emotions. The first chapter is headed with a drawing of the "Shaw Memorial," which holds in its masses of bronze, that give the illusion of rapt movement and life, the very spirit of the city. Next he writes of Boston Common, of Beacon Hill with its purple-paned windows, of famous streets and buildings, of historical personages, the old North End, Faneuil Hall and the waterside, Back Bay, Harvard, and many other places and historical shrines dear to New Englanders. Then, with the feeling of the true artist, that Boston is more than Boston, he brings the reader to the old seaport of Salem, to Concord, Plymouth, and Provincetown, and closes the book with a return to Beacon Hill on Christmas Eve, when the candles are lighted in the ancient windows, when every knocker is wreathed in holly and the surpliced choirs slowly pass through the aisles of lighted windows singing Christmas carols—even one or two, as one remembers, in Latin.

Clara Endicott Sears, whose privilege it has been to be counted as a friend of the Shakers in the old township of Harvard, has written a memoir and history of this strange sect which

she calls "Gleanings from Old Shaker Journals."¹ The Shaker Village at Harvard was the headquarters of the famous Mother Ann Lee, the founder of the Shaker communities in America. The most noted Shaker settlements were at Harvard, Mass.; Lebanon, Pa., and at Niskayuna, near Troy, N. Y. Mrs. Sears notes the phenomena connected with certain localities observed by many writers, that they seem to have a compelling attraction for certain waves of thought. Thus the hills that border the Nashua in Massachusetts have known not only the advent of the Shaker religion, but the "New Eden" of Bronson Alcott, the strange beliefs of Shadrach Ireland, and a space of a few miles distant the "Millerites," or Second Adventists, preached the millennium and awaited several times the sound of the Last Trump. This beautiful volume of pathetic incident and reminiscence contains much material valuable to the historian. There are papers from the hidden cupboards of the Shakers, old diaries, transcripts of their hymns, stories of their persecutions, their faith, and mysterious power of the Spirit. There are a few poems from the pen of a young Shakeress, "Leoline"—one a sonnet. And there are many photographs, old and new, of Shaker settlements and of Elders and Eldresses. One agrees with the simple statement of the old Eldress to the author, remembering these fine old religious zealots of Shakerdom, "They were good men and women"—whatever may be thought of their teachings.

BOOKS WITH ART VALUES FOR CHILDREN

ONE of the first things a child wants to do is to look at pictures. Usually children want to make pictures as well, but, in any event, pictures create for them a world wherein they live quite as much as in the world of reality. It is more important that one should have good art in children's books than in those intended for adults. Therefore, out of the array of new books for toddlers and schoolchildren, one should select those that are well illustrated by competent artists who are able to infuse into their pictures the mental and spiritual qualities that should be impressed upon the child's imagination.

Arthur Rackham, whose elves and fairies are so well known to buyers of books for the young, has illustrated "The Allies' Fairy Book,"² a selection from the fairy tales of the eleven allied races. The tales begin with "Jack the Giant Killer" and end with a Belgian fairy story, "The Last Adventure of Thyl Ulenspiegel." In this story there occurs the phrase that has now become familiar to nearly everyone: "How can you bury Ulenspiegel, the spirit, Nele, the heart of Mother Flanders? She, too, may sleep, but she cannot die." Edmund Gosse has provided the book with a charming introduction that compares and analyzes fairy tales.

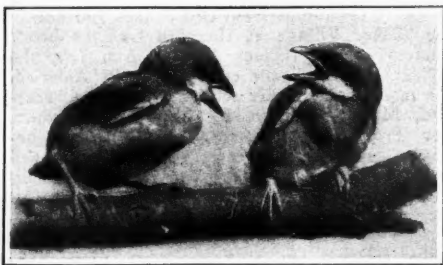
¹ Gleanings from Old Shaker Journals. By Clara Endicott Sears. Houghton, Mifflin. 298 pp. \$1.00.

² The Allies' Fairy Book. Introduction by Edmund Gosse. Ill. by Arthur Rackham. Lippincott. 122 pp. \$1.75.



Along the edge of the sea at Monterey, Cal., where the giant cypresses twist and turn their aged trunks from the sea winds, in wild burned-over spots in forests, in every place where great trees have lived and died by fire or by the slow process of decay, you will find "The Clan of Munes,"³ those grotesque stumps that bear resemblances to humanity in the eyes of imaginative children. Frederick J. Waugh has made a book of "Munes," with a running text that tells of their lives and adventures. They are live folk, if you will, but, pressed hard, he confesses they are spruce trees "torn and broken by storms, riven by lightning and eaten by ants until their broken limbs dropped from their sockets" and became "Munes." These drawings in color and black and white have a marvelous quality and, together with the delightful text, form one of the most attractive picture-books of the season.

³ The Clan of Munes. By Frederick J. Waugh. Scribner's. 56 pp. \$2.50.



SAMMY AND SUSIE SHRIKE

Sammy Shrike and Susy Shrike,
They went and fought, oh my!
Till their mother sent them both to bed
Each wearing a black eye.

(From Gene Stratton Porter's "Morning Face")

"Morning Face,"¹ a book of nature rhymes and cunningly caught posture of birds and animals in photographs, is the latest nature book by Gene Stratton-Porter. Her pictures are a triumph of patience in catching the rare moments of wild creatures, and the rhymes and stories were written for the real "Morning Face," a little girl who lived for a time in her home, "Limberlost," in Indiana. The jingles are for reading aloud, runes, incantations of childhood suitable for the magic added to them by the human voice. The birds and beasts are young ones, the kind children love best. The book is bound in blue and gold and contains portraits of the author and of the little girl who inspired the rhymes.

The book that Charles Kingsley wrote for the youngest of his children, "Water Babies,"² is published in a revised edition prepared especially for American children, omitting the scientific and religious discussions and obscure references, and changing certain English expressions into American forms. There has never been a more delightful book for children written than this captivating story of happy inspiration by the English vicar, who was also novelist, poet, reformer, and for a space of years professor of modern history at Cambridge University. Mr. Clifton Johnson tells us in the preface that Kingsley had a wooden hut built for his children on a bit of high ground, where they kept books and toys and tea things, and that there he brought, when his parish work was done, treasures he had picked up on his walk, "flower, fern, beetle, lizard, or any object of natural beauty that had attracted his attention." Also he writes that Kingsley said, "I wonder if there is as much laughing in any other home in England as in ours." The illustrations are by Frank Nankivell.

A collection of the fairy stories of the American Indians, first published sixty years ago, has been revised, splendidly illustrated, and published in a most attractive volume called "The Indian Fairy Book."³ These stories were collected by Henry R. Schoolcraft, one of the first men to study how the American Indians lived and to

write down their legends. He lived among the Indian tribes in the vicinity of the Great Lakes for thirty years, and wrote down the stories just as he heard them. The collection was first published by Mason Bros., in New York, in 1856.

"The Jolly Book of Playcraft,"⁴ by Patten Beard, gives directions for playing sixty games that can be made from the materials found in every home. Everything is made so simple and so clear that the book can be placed before the children and they can make the games from the pictures alone. All the tools needed for this list of home games are a ruler, pencil, scissors, and a box of colored crayons.

A charming story, "The Memoirs of a White Elephant,"⁵ is told in the first person, by "Iravata," a good, wise and famous elephant of Siam, who served his friends, the King and Queen of Golconda, so well that he becomes the guardian of the lovely little Princess Parvati. Mr. S. A. B. Harvey has translated this delightful elephant biography from the French of Mademoiselle Judith Gautier. The excellent illustrations are the work of L. H. Smith and S. B. Kite.

Frank C. Pape has painted sixteen color plates for "The Russian Story Book,"⁶ that contains many tales from the song-cycles of Kiev and Novgorod and other early sources retold for healthy-minded boys and girls in their early teens, by Richard Watson. The stories will help to make young people understand the ideals that molded the beginnings of the Russian nation.

"The King's Highway Series"⁷ consists of eight books, each bearing a particular title, as "The Way of the Gate," "The Way of the Mountain," "The Way of the King's Palace," etc. They give a mind-training course suitable to young children in the home or in private school by means of the story method. The literature has been selected with great care from the Bible and from other books of a distinctly ethical nature. Six hundred Bible stories are retold, and copious extracts have been made from the works of the world's master story-tellers and poets. A scheme of particular virtues and vices peculiar to children at various ages is dealt with in each volume. Questions are arranged after the readings so that the successive selections may be used as lessons. This series is saved from a machine-like quality by two things, the literary excellence of the stories chosen for the books and the lack of moralizing. The child is given the material and permitted to reinforce his own mind with the inspiration of the beauty and truth of the stories. The series is edited by E. Hershey Sneath, Professor of Religion at Yale; George Hodges, Dean of the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, and Henry Hallam Tweedy, Professor of Practical Theology at Yale. The volumes are appropriately and beautifully illustrated and altogether form a fine and praiseworthy effort to give the modern child a genuine Christian nurture.

⁴ The Jolly Book of Playcraft. By Patten Beard. Stokes. 226 pp. \$1.35.

⁵ The Memoirs of a White Elephant. By Judith Gautier. Duffield. 233 pp. \$1.50.

⁶ The Russian Story Book. Retold tales by Richard Watson. Ill. Macmillan. 307 pp. \$2.

⁷ The Kings Highway Series. By Sneath Hodges Tweedy. Macmillan. 75 cents per vol.

¹ Morning Face. By Gene Stratton Porter. Doubleday. Page. Ill. 128 pp. \$2.

² Water Babies. By Charles Kingsley. Macmillan. Ill. 222 pp. \$1.50.

³ The Indian Fairy Book. By Henry R. Schoolcraft. Stokes. Ill. 303 pp.

NOVELS AND TALES OF DISTINCTION

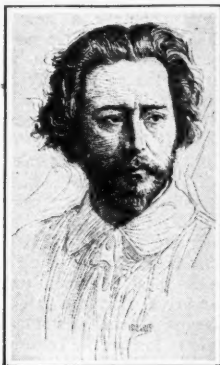
"THE CRUSHED FLOWER,"¹

translated by Herman Bernstein, presents three novelettes and five short tales by the great Russian novelist, Leonid Andreyev. A remarkable story, "The Man Who Found the Truth," hitherto available only in the French and in abbreviated form, is worth in actual values to the mind and spirit a hundred ordinary "uplift" books. A theory of life evolved by a man incarcerated in a Russian prison, the philosophy of the "Iron Grate," brings the prisoner fame and secures his release. But he has become his philosophy; he sees the infinite only through iron squares; and postulates that his prison is "immortal." Thus after he has been pardoned in his old age he hires a jailer to imprison him in his own home, there to end his days under the iron régime which has been his life for so many years. In this story Andreyev places in the prisoner's mouth his theory of truth, that human thought seeks not the truth but the "verisimilitude, the appearance of truth—that is, the harmony between that which is seen and that which is conceived, based on strict laws of logical reasoning." Another story, "Judas Iscariot, and Others," gives a most remarkable conception of the traitor. "The Ocean" is a version of a play published in 1911. "The Crushed Flower" is a touching remembrance of a little boy's psychology when disillusion first pierces his mind. "The Story Never Finished" is a sketch of the hopes of a social revolutionist, that strange joy that knows itself foredoomed to success through perpetual defeat. The other stories, no less striking than those mentioned, are, "On the Day of Crucifixion," "The Serpent's Story," and "Love, Faith, and Hope."

Constance Garnett, who has made many successful translations from the Russian of Turgenev and Dostoevski, has begun a series of translations of eight or more volumes of Anton Chekhov, of which two volumes, "The Darling, and Other Stories"² and "The Duel, and Other Stories," are already published. In "The Darling" we have one of Chekhov's most remarkable stories, a tale that holds up to derision the weak, clinging type of woman who loves any person whom fate thrusts into her life.

¹ The Crushed Flower. By Leonid Andreyev. Knopf. 361 pp. \$1.50.

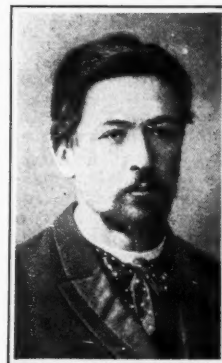
² The Darling and Other Stories. By Anton Chekhov. From the Russian by Constance Garnett. Macmillan. 329 pp. \$1.50.



LEONID ANDREYEV

"The Duel,"³ and eight other tales selected, together with those of the first collection, are from the best of Chekhov's work. This great Russian story-teller was born in Russia, at Tanarog, a port on an arm of the Black Sea, in the year 1860, and died in Germany in 1894. His tales are classified by Edward Garnett, in an introduction to the first volume of this series of translations, as follows: Hundreds of short, humorous sketches, stories of the life of the town, family and domestic pieces, stories of provincial life, of peasant life, stories of unconventional and lawless characters, and psychological studies, plays, farces, etc.

"Olga Bardel,"⁴ a first novel by a writer new to literary thoroughfares, Stacy Aumonier, a young Englishman of French Huguenot extraction, is a work of extraordinary power and reality. It is what all really great novels are—a biography that frees the mind to larger spaces by means of the significance of the definite and the particular. Olga Bardel is a little girl of the London slums, a half-starved waif who has been born with such God-given love for music that at the age of five she braves blows and starvation to creep into a room full of hardware and twang pieces of wire in pure joy of appreciation of tone. She climbs out of the squalor and filth of her surroundings, past the clutch of odious relatives, up from poverty to fame. Then life, not content, rends her through the power of her affections, and once more, now a grown woman and mother, she fights the down-pulling forces of life and emerges on the heights of serenity, by means of that which the author calls the "soul's power to eternally renew itself." Here is a real novel that holds the wonder and joy of living, and the motive drive of vital energy in the frame of an enthralling story.



ANTON CHEKHOV

Mrs. Trask's pen,⁵ responding to a mind of rare intelligence and to a fine sense of literary art, never fails to produce something worth consideration from the standpoint of American letters. But her motive is always intensely ethical.

³ The Duel, and Other Stories. By Anton Chekhov. From the Russian by Constance Garnett. Macmillan. 323 pp. \$1.50.

⁴ Olga Bardel. By Stacy Aumonier. Century. 367 pp. \$1.35.

⁵ The Invisible Balance Sheet. By Katrina Trask. John Lane. 379 pp. \$1.40.



STACY AUMONIER

(Author of "Olga Bardel," one of the important novels of the season)

Hers is a passion for human brotherhood and for righteousness in the lives of individuals as well as of communities and states. She has written a novel of contrasts in the life of to-day as centered in New York. There comes to a young man the opportunity to live a comparatively unworldly life, with freedom for the working out of his best ideals, and the alternative opportunity to accept a fortune of sixty million dollars bequeathed in the will of a great-uncle on condition of his never marrying, of his living in New York City, and so on. He accepts the fortune, with its hampering conditions, and sacrifices the fitting and worthy choice he had made of a companion in life. This plot gives opportunity for Mrs. Trask to depict certain present-day phases of American life and to emphasize the value of the unworldly and unselfish career, as contrasted with that which her central character had unwisely adopted.

Algernon Blackwood, the well-known writer of fascinating tales of mystery and imagination, tries to alter the usual conception of death in his

last novel, "Julius LeVallon."¹ The quotation by Professor McTaggart that prefaces the first chapter gives the scaffolding of the story: "Surely death acquires a new and deeper significance when we regard it no longer as a single and unexplained break in an unending life, but as part of the continually recurring rhythm of progress—as inevitable, as natural, as benevolent as sleep." An English schoolboy tells the story in the first person. He meets at a public school a remarkable young mate, Julius LeVallon. The two boys seem to remember a life together some time in the past. Slowly throughout a long period of years they unravel the skein of the past and expiate a crime committed in a remote period of antiquity. The first part of the book is the best, a more convincing and stimulating narrative than the later half, where the delicate suggestiveness customary to Mr. Blackwood's style is lost in the realms of the occult. The story is valuable, however, because it teaches that life may have a continuous duration not only in time but outside of it, and suggests the real duration of personality.

PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

THOSE who are interested in the study of the religious faiths of the world and in India will find an authentic account of the gospel of early Buddhism in Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy's sumptuous volume, "Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism."² Beyond the endeavor to place Buddhism in its proper relation to Hinduism and carefully to explain the doctrines of Nirvana, Karma, and reincarnation, and indicate the analogies of this faith with those of the West, the author shows us the part Buddhist thought has played in the development of Asiatic culture. Also he wishes us to examine in this period of social turbulence the doctrines of Buddha, which are akin to those of the Christian mystics, and see if they shall serve as a view of life whereon to build the sociology and humanism of the future. Therefore, this volume must be judged not simply as a book of historical perspective, but as one that definitely contributes to the formation of a philosophy of living that shall bring the greatest good to the greatest number. The book has illustrations in color by Abandindro Nath Tagore, C. I. E., and Nanda Lal Bose, and thirty-two reproductions in black-and-white from photographs. Dr. Coomaraswamy is the author of "Essays in National Idealism."

"Hinduism: The World Ideal,"³ by Harendranath Maitra, explains the foundations of the spiritual unity of India with eloquence and the terse phraseology of Western thought. Gilbert Chesterton writes in the introduction that the author's enthusiasm is for the human side of Hinduism, "which touches the heart and makes the lofty ideals of the Vedas a practical religion and poetry for the common people."

In the *Monist Quarterly* (October, 1916), there was gathered together by the eminent Cambridge scholar, Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain, a quantity of interesting material devoted to a bicentenary commemoration of the philosophical and scientific work of Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz. In further remembrance of the life and brilliant accomplishment of this great philosopher, Alfred G. Langley has translated the entire fifth volume of Gerhardt's *Die philosophischen Schriften von G. W. Leibniz*, sub-titled "Leibniz und Locke," which consists of an introduction by Gerhardt, some short pieces on Locke's "Essay" and the "New Essays on Human Understanding"; and in appendix a translation of various short articles by Leibnitz that have bearing on the subjects discussed by the "New Essays." The clarity of the translation will commend this book to the general reader as well as the student of philosophy; the content will meet the appreciation of those who love the knowledge of philosophical and scientific theory for its own sake.

Certain essays of Herbert Spencer have been reprinted under the title of "The Man *versus* the State,"⁴ and each essay has been edited and commented upon by a leader of American thought. The title essay is criticized and interpreted by David Jayne Hill, "The New Toryism," by Elihu Root; "The Coming Slavery," by Henry Cabot Lodge; "Over Legislation," by E. H. Gary; "From Freedom to Bondage," by Augustus P. Gardiner; "The Great Political Superstition," by Nicholas Murray Butler; "The Sins of Legislators," by Harlan F. Stone; "Specialized Administration," by Charles W. Eliot; "The Duty of the State," by William Howard Taft; and the whole edited by Truxton Beale, a student and disciple

¹ Julius LeVallon. By Algernon Blackwood. Dutton. 354 pp. \$1.50.

² Buddha and the Gospel of Buddhism. By Ananda Coomaraswamy, D.Sc. Putnam's. 370 pp. \$3.75.

³ Hinduism: The World Ideal. By Harendranath Maitra. Dodd, Mead. 137 pp. \$1.25.

⁴ New Essays Concerning Human Understanding. Leibnitz. Translated by Alfred G. Langley. Chicago: Open Court. 861 pp. \$3.

⁵ The Man *versus* the State. By Herbert Spencer. Edited by Truxton Beale. Mitchell Kennerley. 357 pp. \$2.

of Spencer who believes in the tremendous value of his gospel to our governmental and social system. The book is offered as a handbook for conservatives, a solid volume of stabilizing thought and suggestion that will reestablish self-reliance in American character and instill common sense and practical wisdom into the minds of legislators. For the man or woman who wishes to see clearly just what problems the United States is facing, and which must be worked out to our best national advantage, there is no better contribution to political thought than this volume of economic and sociological wisdom founded upon the broad philosophical foundation that "those forces that create and develop nations are not to be restricted by prohibitory acts of legislatures."

The late Josiah Royce is held responsible by M. Anesaki, Professor of the Science of Religion in the Imperial University at Tokio, and 1913-15 Professor of Japanese Literature and Life at Harvard University, because of his advice and encouragement, for the publication of a volume on Nicheren, the Buddhist teacher and reformer of the 13th century.¹ This study is a kind of foreword to the author's forthcoming work on the "Religious and Moral Development of the Japanese." The teachings and influence of Nicheren have played a large part in the present religious attitude of the Japanese nation. He has been called the "Nietzsche of Japan." The son of a fisherman of southeastern Japan, he became a monk, later a great religious teacher. He was sentenced to be executed, but escaped the sentence and was exiled to the island of Sado in the northern inclement climate. After two and

a half years, he was recalled by the government and later went into voluntary exile among the mountains on the west side of Fugi at Minobu. His teachings, which unified religion and ethics, rescued pure Buddhism from the contamination of spurious beliefs and restored it to the purity of its original high ideals and to the worship of one Buddha (Buddha Sakya-muni), the Lord of the Universe. To the restored purity of the Buddhist faith can be traced—at least in part—the great vitality of the Japanese nation. This brief, clear exposition of Nicheren's personality and teachings is a distinct contribution to the literature of religious psychology and a clearly cut portrait of a man Western scholars will indeed be glad to know. A chapter on the Buddhist conception of reality is given in appendix.

For those who are interested in the scientific facts underlying the classification of criminals and the pathological data of the causes of certain types of crimes, Dr. Bernard Glueck offers the results of a long period of investigation in the criminal department of the Government Hospital for the Insane. The volume, entitled "Studies in Forensic Psychiatry"² (Criminal Science Monograph No. 2), makes no attempt at conclusions; it presents a series of typical cases, with complete histories and much that goes to bear out the Freudian theory of basic causes for crimes arising from morbid psychology. The object of the work is to encourage the idea of correction and reformation in connection with crime as opposed to the idea of punishment. Prison reformers, lawyers, judges, all who come in contact with offenders, will value this sound work that offers a scientific basis for the classification of criminals.

ARCHITECTURE, DECORATION AND FURNISHINGS

IN "The Colonial House,"³ by Joseph Everett Chandler, a leading Boston architect, we have a full exposition of the three periods of so-called colonial architecture in America, illustrated from photographs of the best examples extant in our Northern, Southern, and Central Atlantic States. Developing his theme as an architect, Mr. Chandler has naturally included plans and details which would be of practical service to anyone at the present time building a colonial house. Indeed, it would be difficult to find elsewhere so helpful a grouping of suggestions based upon a thorough study of original models.

"The Woodcarver of Salem,"⁴ by Frank Cousins and Phil M. Riley, is a well-deserved tribute to Samuel McIntire, of Salem, whose distinction as an architect and designer, as well as a craftsman, is preserved in many of the stately houses of the

third Colonial period that still adorn the ancient streets of Salem. Although McIntire's work was done during the thirty years that followed the American Revolution, there is no good reason why it should not be termed "Colonial" rather than "Georgian." McIntire passed his whole life and did all his work in Salem, never having had an opportunity to see the productions of Wrenn and other contemporary English architects. Yet he attained high rank as a designer and, in the opinion of the authors of this book, he was our foremost Colonial architect of domestic buildings. At any rate, his genius as a craftsman contributed powerfully to the most effective utilization of wood in the New England buildings of his time.

A great deal of exceedingly useful information for the use of the collector and general reader is supplied in "The Practical Book of Early American Arts and Crafts,"⁵ by Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Abbot McClure. The researches of

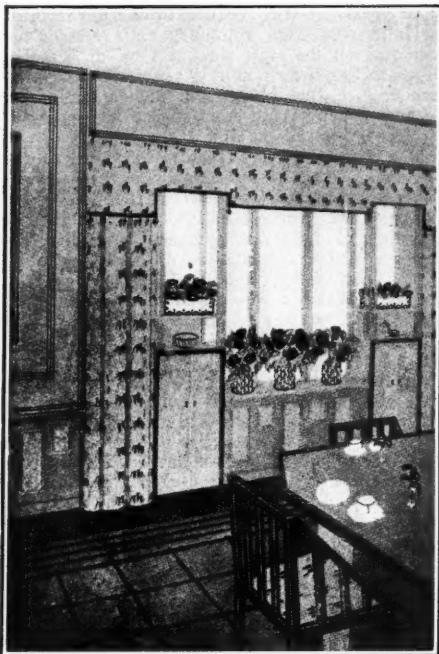
¹ Nicheren: The Buddhist Prophet. By Masararu Anesaki. Harvard University Press. 160 pp. \$1.25.

² Studies in Forensic Psychiatry. By Bernard Glueck, M.D. Little, Brown. 269 pp. \$2.50.

³ The Colonial House. By Joseph Everett Chandler. Robert M. McBride & Co. 341 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

⁴ The Wood-Carver of Salem. Samuel McIntire: His Life and Work. By Frank Cousins and Phil M. Riley. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 168 pp. Ill. \$7.50.

⁵ The Practical Book of Early American Arts and Crafts. By Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Abbot McClure. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co. 339 pp. Ill. \$6.



DINING ROOM IN GOLDEN YELLOW, BLUE, VIOLET,
AND DULL GREEN
(From "The New Interior")

these authors have covered the entire period of our Colonial history, and every important American craft is represented in their book. A chapter on early lace is contributed by Mabel Foster Bainbridge. There are over 200 illustrations.

"The Quest of the Quaint,"¹ by Virginia Robie, is an informal, chatty book of facts and suggestions for the collector of furniture, mirrors, old glass, and china. The volume has also much enjoyment in store for the reader who is neither an expert nor a specialist in either of these hobbies.

Mrs. Helen Churchill Candee gives in fifty pages a terse, intelligent statement regarding the various styles of Jacobean furniture.² Mrs. Candee has traced the relationship between these antique articles and the people who made use of them. Her book is more than a collector's manual. Within its scope it is a contribution to the history of the period.

Mrs. Ada Walker Camehl has been interested in tracing American historical events as pictured in the Staffordshire pottery of the early nineteenth century. From the results of her extended researches in this field she has made an entertaining volume which recalls important episodes in our national history and at the same time reproduces views of our natural scenery that were

popular one hundred years ago.³ The potteries of Staffordshire, in England, exported the greater part of their product to the United States and were shrewd enough to enhance the salability of their wares by picturing American scenes and personages. The two hundred illustrations of Mrs. Camehl's book, which are reproductions of examples of this Anglo-American pottery, bear witness to the inherent interest of the scenes and portraits.

The old pottery and porcelain of England and Ireland⁴ is described in detail in a volume by Fred W. Burgess, the author of "Antique Furniture," and other books familiar to collectors.

The new movement for reform in house decoration has a valiant exponent in Mrs. Hazel H. Adler, whose book, "The New Interior,"⁵ is full of suggestions for modernized decorative schemes for the modern home, whether country house or city apartment. The book is profusely illustrated with photographs and drawings.

For householders and those who are planning houses Grace Wood and Emily Burbank have written a most useful book, "The Art of Interior Decoration."⁶ This is not an essay on the particular art of the decorator, but a practical reference book of facts. The would-be decorator is told exactly what to buy for certain schemes of decoration, how to reproduce historical periods, and how to combine beautiful things to make rooms interesting and to infuse into them one's own taste and mentality. The suggestions are by no means confined to persons with large purses. The laws of interior decoration, founded upon harmony, simplicity, and the law of "spaces," are pictured as applied to all types of dwellings—not only the sumptuous town houses of the rich, but to the most modest country houses and cottages. Thirty-two illustrations guide the reader to good taste and beauty in the home. This is one of the best books for the home-maker and amateur decorator ever published.

Outside the house in the country there is the garden to be considered, and the art of making a beautiful garden is also governed by the same laws that apply to interior decoration. There must be a harmonious, simple design, a proper relation of spaces, and a skilful blending of color effects. A book that will serve as a guide to a garden scheme is "Garden Ornaments,"⁷ a manual, with thirty-two illustrations, that describes and pictures the various kinds of ornament and furniture that bring delight and beauty into a garden scheme, whether it be a stately, formal garden or a small, intimate one of homely, old-fashioned flowers and shrubs. This is also a purely practical book, that tells the reader just how to achieve certain effects and what errors to avoid.

³ The Blue-China Book. Early American Scenes and History Pictured in the Pottery of the Time. By Ada Walker Camehl. Dutton. 309 pp. Ill. \$5.

⁴ Old Pottery and Porcelain. By Fred W. Burgess. Putnam's. 426 pp. Ill. \$2.50.

⁵ The New Interior. By Hazel H. Adler. Century. 315 pp. Ill. \$3.

⁶ The Art of Interior Decoration. By Grace Wood and Emily Burbank. Dodd, Mead. 347 pp. \$2.

⁷ Garden Ornaments. By Mary H. Northfield. Duffield. 178 pp. \$2.50.

¹ The Quest of the Quaint. By Virginia Robie. Boston: Little, Brown & Co. 287 pp. Ill. \$2.

² Jacobean Furniture and English Styles in Oak and Walnut. By Helen Churchill Candee. 56 pp. Ill. \$1.25.

ART INTERPRETATIONS

AN introduction to the Old Masters, "The Art of Looking at Pictures," by Carl Thurston, is a decidedly helpful handbook to carry when visiting galleries. It gives directions for "looking," short biographies that bring the art-seeker into human relationship with the painters of venerable pictures, and shows one the rising and falling of the tide of artistic appreciations as the years pass, the ebb and flow of critical valuation, which necessarily changes as the times change. Art has its fashions, but the true critic is not affected by the garment of a picture, but by its essential truth. Mr. Thurston's short chapter, "How to Visit a Gallery," should be memorized by everyone who has not by instinct or by study learned how to appreciate pictures of all periods. The text is lightened with illustrations made from photographs of well-known paintings. A chronological chart of the painters included in the book is given in appendix, with a grouping of names to show the various relationships between the artists.

A handbook of sculpture intended to awaken appreciation and interest and to provide the knowledge for a beginner's understanding of the art, by Charles L. Barstow, bears the title, "Famous Sculpture." It gives in outline, with lighter overlays of anecdote to attract young readers, Egyptian, Greek, Roman, Christian, Byzantine,

Medieval, and Gothic Sculpture; The Renaissance, its rise and decline; Modern Sculpture, and Sculpture in America, a pronouncing vocabulary, and a complete glossary of terms. For students, for young people, and for the general public there is no clearer or better written handbook of elementary knowledge about sculpture. Its thesis is plainly the quotation given from Humboldt: "A taste for sculpture belongs to the best, purest, and noblest of our enjoyments." "Famous Sculpture" is a companion volume to Mr. Barstow's "Famous Pictures" and "Famous Buildings."

"Venus," an archeological study of woman, by Paul Carus, begins with an account of the discovery of the Greek Venus on the island of Melos, the southwestern island of the Cyclades group. After an informative discussion of facts and theories that have clustered around this famous statue since the time of its discovery, Dr. Carus gives the history of the "Cult of Aphrodite," the goddess-mother, who under different names has figured in the history of every race, and who has only in later times been superseded by the cult of a male deity. One chapter is devoted to "The Origin of Woman," and another to "Aphrodite in Art." A most instructive and interesting volume, freely illustrated with 175 cuts and line drawings.

NEW VOLUMES OF HISTORY

The Mississippi Valley in British Politics.

By Clarence Walworth Alvord. Cleveland: The Arthur H. Clark Co. 2 v., 754 pp. \$10.

This work gives the history of the efforts made by the British Government, between the Treaty of Paris, in 1763, and the outbreak of the American Revolution, to organize and colonize the great region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi River that had been ceded by France. To most readers these volumes will give a wholly new conception of the attitude of Great Britain towards its American possessions during the decade preceding the Revolution. From public and private documents never before published, Professor Alvord shows that the ministry at London was far more deeply concerned than has generally been supposed with the fate of its western possessions in America. As compared with the disposition of the trans Alleghany lands, it would seem that the various causes of friction with the colonists on the eastern seaboard were regarded in London as the merest side issues.

Historic Events of Colonial Days. By Rupert S. Holland. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. 320 pp. \$1.50.

A series of pre-Revolutionary incidents related

¹The Art of Looking at Pictures. By Carl H. P. Thurston. Dodd, Mead. 291 pp. \$1.50.

²Famous Sculpture. By Charles L. Barstow. Century. 249 pp. \$1.

³Venus. By Paul Carus. Chicago: Open Court Co. 182 pp. Ill. \$1.

in an attractive way for the benefit of younger readers.

Witchcraft in Salem Village in 1692. By Winfield S. Nevins. Salem, Mass.: The Salem Press Co. 265 pp. \$2.25.

This new edition of the standard account of the most famous episode of its kind in our Colonial history has an interesting preface which reviews the recent discussion of Salem witchcraft and gives several notable instances of twentieth-century attempts to punish persons in other countries for offenses very similar to those alleged against the unfortunate victims of the Salem madness of 1692.

Our First War in Mexico. By Farnham Bishop. Scribner's. 225 pp., ill. \$1.25.

This account of the war of 1846, while not exhaustive, has at least avoided the pitfalls of many of its predecessors, most of which either exaggerated the valor of the American troops or were one-sided in condemnation of both the motives and the conduct of the war. Mr. Bishop wrote his book in full expectation that the United States would shortly be engaged in another war with Mexico, but this fact in no way militates against the general fairness and impartiality of his narrative.

Brave Deeds of Confederate Soldiers. By Philip Alexander Bruce. Philadelphia:

George W. Jacobs & Co. 351 pp., ill. \$1.50.

Stories of individual daring on the part of both officers and privates in the Confederate army. One chapter is devoted to the adventures of the famous Belle Boyd, the Confederate spy.

The Boy Scouts of the Shenandoah. By

Byron A. Dunn. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 355 pp., ill. \$1.10.

This is the first volume in the "Young Virginians Series." The book has two boy heroes, one representing the aristocracy, the other the mountaineer element of the Old Dominion's population.

The Death of a Nation; or, The Ever Per-

secuted Nestorians or Assyrian Christians. By Abraham Yohannan, Ph. D. Putnam's. 17c pp. \$2.

The little-known story of the eighteen centuries of persecution endured by the Assyrian Christians, known as the Nestorian Church. Even in the present war this people has endured outrage.

History of the Medieval Jews, from the Moslem Conquest of Spain to the Discovery of America. By the Rev. Maurice H. Harris. Bloch Publishing Co. 384 pp., ill. 50 cents.

One of the few scholarly accounts in English, from a Jewish standpoint, of European, and particularly Spanish, history during the Middle Ages.

POLITICS, ECONOMICS, AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

Politics. By Heinrich von Treitschke. Translated by Blanche Dugdale and Torben de Bille; introduction by Arthur James Balfour and foreword by A. Lawrence Lowell. Macmillan. 2 v., 1049 pp. \$7.

At the beginning of the war there was much discussion about the influence of Prof. Heinrich von Treitschke on the development of the militaristic spirit in Germany. Although von Treitschke died more than twenty years ago, he remains the most powerful exponent in his country of the theory that the primary aim of the state is power. His philosophy has never been made familiar to English readers save in a very limited degree. The present translation of his "Politics" gives an opportunity to trace the trend of recent political thinking in Germany and particularly in the first and last chapters, as President Lowell points out in a foreword to the American edition, to get the author's idea of the state, its relation to the moral law, and to other states.

Ethics of Democracy. By Louis F. Post. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 374 pp. \$1.50.

Mr. Post, who is the foremost living defender of the doctrines of Henry George, wrote the essays contained in this volume nearly twenty years ago. As he states in the preface to this third edition, they were prompted by events and controversies quite different on the surface from those that stir present-day thought and feeling, but many of them deal with fundamental principles and are quite as applicable to present circumstances as they were to the circumstances of the time when they were written.

State Socialism After the War. By Thomas J. Hughes. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Co. 351 pp. \$1.50.

A terse statement of what state socialism is and how it would work, prepared in the light of the most recent developments in Europe and America.

Distributive Justice. By John A. Ryan, D. D. Macmillan. 442 pp. \$1.50.

Father Ryan, who holds a professorship at the Catholic University of America, is known as one of the leading Catholic scholars and writers who have turned their attention especially to economic problems. In the present volume he discusses the justice of the processes by which the product of industry is distributed, considering the moral aspects of distribution with reference to the four classes—land-owners, capitalists, business men, and laborers. The rights and obligations of these four classes constitute the main subject of the work, while an effort is made to propose reforms that would remove the principal defects of the present system and bring about a larger measure of social justice.

The Tide of Immigration. By Frank Julian Warne. D. Appleton & Co. 388 pp. \$2.50.

Mr. Warne discusses from the standpoint of the economist the forces behind the movements of population to and from the United States and some of the great public problems that have grown out of the presence in this country of large numbers of aliens. The author favors the imposition of the literacy test and outlines a proposed national policy in relation to immigration having as its chief basis economic assimilation.

Form and Functions of American Government. By Thomas Harrison Reed. Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company. 549 pp. \$1.50.

The author of this handbook came to his task with a rather unusual equipment. A graduate of Harvard University and of the Harvard Law School, he was successively a member of the bar of Massachusetts and of New York, and in 1908 was appointed to a professorship of government in the University of California. For six months in 1911 he held the office of executive secretary to Governor Johnson, and in 1916 secured a leave of absence from the University to assume

the duties of city manager of San José, Cal. His book, therefore, has a background of practical experience in governmental affairs and was written with the thoroughly practical purpose of helping to make "better citizens and better government."

An Approach to Business Problems. By Arch Wilkinson Shaw. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 332 pp. \$2.

In this volume the editor of *System*, who has lectured on business policy at Harvard University, first charts the great field of modern business and then proceeds to analyze and classify its problems. He begins with production, since the productive activities are more generally standardized than those in other departments, and then proceeds to show how similar methods of analysis may be applied to the problems of distribution and administration. Mr. Shaw has been a successful manufacturer and magazine publisher and his ideas have had the test of experience.

Property and Society. By Andrew Alexander Bruce. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 150 pp. 50 cents.

This is the first volume in the "National Social Science Series," edited by President Frank L. McVey, of the University of North Dakota. Admitting the divergence between the legal and the social concepts of property, Judge Bruce attempts a restatement of what has been accomplished by organized society and at the same

time points the way to the newer social concept. The author's viewpoint is well expressed in this sentence from his preface: "Legal concepts and economic dicta need to be expressed in terms of human life." Judge Bruce is Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of North Dakota.

The Tariff and the Coming Trade War: Every American's Business. By John Calvin Brown. Mitchell Kennerley. 313 pp. \$1.50.

A timely exposition of American tariff policy with reference to the changed conditions brought by the great war.

New Ideals in Business. By Ida M. Tarbell. Macmillan. 339 pp. \$1.75.

This book is an account of the actual practise of the new ideals and their effects upon men and profits. In procuring the material, Miss Tarbell visited scores of industrial centers and talked with hundreds of men and women—presidents and directors of companies, superintendents, foremen, consulting engineers, safety and sanitation experts, industrial nurses, men at the furnace, the loom, or lathe, and girls at the spinning-frame, the canning-table, and the counter. It is Miss Tarbell's conclusion, after all this investigation, that "however great the lack of efficiency and justice in American industry, it is undergoing a silent revolution. This revolution is centered in industrial management." The new management is employing science in its studies and it is recognizing "that all men, regardless of race, origin or experience, have power for greater things than has been believed."

BOOKS RELATING TO THE WAR

Official Diplomatic Documents Relating to the Outbreak of the European War. Introduction and other matter by Edmund von Mach. Macmillan. 1000 pp. \$6.

This one volume contains the various official documents which were compiled in the German "White Book," the "British Blue Book," the French "Yellow Book," the Russian "Orange Book," and so on, early in the war. In this edition the dispatches are arranged according to dates, and within the dates according to the alphabetical order of the countries which sent or received them. For the benefit of students who may desire to check the accuracy of the translations photographic reproductions of the official publications are given in an appendix. On the whole, this is the most serviceable compilation of the war documents that has anywhere been published.

War Bread: A Personal Narrative of the War and Relief in Belgium. By Edward Eyre Hunt. Holt. 374 pp., ill. \$2.

Mr. Hunt was American delegate of the Commission for Relief in Belgium, in charge of the Province of Antwerp. He gives a vivid account of the relief work in Belgium, with many interesting photographs.

The War and Humanity. By James M. Beck. Putnam's. 322 pp. \$1.50.

A sequel to the author's book, entitled "The Evidence in the Case." The present work deals with the submarine controversy and the case of Edith Cavell. There are chapters on the foreign policy of President Washington, "America and the Allies," and "The Vision of France."

Hesitations: The American Crisis and the War. By William Morton Fullerton. Doubleday, Page. 163 pp. \$1.25.

Mr. Fullerton, who is himself an American, severely criticizes the action of the American Government in relation to the submarine controversy and other developments of the war. In general he opposes the Administration's policy of "neutrality."

To-morrow: Letters to a Friend in Germany. By Hugo Münsterberg. Appleton. 275 pp. \$1.

Professor Münsterberg was the leading exponent in this country of the German viewpoint. In these letters he looked forward to the reconstruction of Germany after the war, and at the same time commented on the progress of nationalism and idealism in America.

FINANCIAL NEWS

I.—SECURITIES IN VOGUE AFTER THE WAR

THE convulsion in the market for securities, following the announcement of German peace proposals, draws attention to the position of those stocks and bonds that have enjoyed great favor since war prosperity appeared in this country and also to another group that has been waiting for the war to end to exhibit the values and the earning power underneath it.

"War Brides" No Longer Favorites

The day of the "war bride" has passed, whether peace comes soon or is delayed for another six months or a year. Factories that have been active in making munitions since the summer of 1915 are readjusting their machinery and returning to the business for which they were created. Few new contracts for manufactured articles, such as rifles, shrapnel, fuses, and heavy guns are being given out in the United States, for a three-fold reason, viz., that facilities have been established in Great Britain and France for their making, that many of the orders placed in this country were poorly executed, and finally that the desire for economy and the growing difficulty in securing credit here compelled a larger proportion of home manufacture. The last-named factor applied furthermore to purchases of raw materials, such as iron and steel for shell manufacture, and copper.

So long as credit was limitless, purchases were made in proportion to credit, but with the curtailment of loans governments had to do what the individual does—get along with less and make greater use of his native genius for meeting his requirements. The thought is that long before the German Chancellor rose in the Reichstag on December 12 and electrified the world with his peace suggestions there had been a gradual drawing away from securities associated with the war, even though the dividends on them were increasing each month. A counter movement was a reinvestment of speculative profits and the returns on commercial or professional efforts in issues that paid a good rate of interest, but could be expected to stand up under the shock

of a sudden collapse of a struggle involving so many millions of men and so many billions of expenditures.

This precaution was justified. When "war brides" declined in three days from 10 to 50 points—Bethlehem Steel losing 100 points—securities of the other type were very little affected. Most likely the line of cleavage between the two groups will be more distinct as time goes on. What we may expect now is a burrowing about by the promoter of security values for stocks that may carry the "peace" prefix. What was a liability six or eight months ago has become an asset, and vice versa.

"Peace" Stocks

There are only a limited number of securities that eventually will be better off because of the war than if it had not happened. The whole list of those that did not reflect the commercial gains of war might be registered under the classification of "peace" stocks. This is a relative and rather negative standing. There are a few that obviously must improve under circumstances which the war has created and which must be met with American products. Among them are the securities of the agricultural-implements concerns. It is conceivable that in Russia, Germany, Asia Minor, Turkey in Europe, and in France and Italy even, where farming is now intensive, there will be great movements back to the land and that modern methods will be adopted in order to stimulate cheap food production. Before the war there were aggressive organizations located in Europe to represent the manufacturers of harvesters, plows, tractors, etc. They are already in the field, and while some of their plants have been used for making munitions, they can quickly be readapted to their original functions. Concerns engaged in this business believe that the five years following peace will be the greatest they have ever known or are ever likely to know in the foreign territory covered by their salesmen.

Nearly the same situation applies to manufacturers of sewing machines, typewriters,

cash registers—products of purely American invention and distribution. The markets for these articles will not be limited to the Continent of Europe, but will be greater in South America after the war than it is now, for then those republics that have been pinched by the conditions in England will be better able to buy and credit will have been improved. In another sphere the opportunities for profit are believed to be considerable. That is in shipping in American bottoms and in the distribution of American-made products through well-organized companies with a central authority in the United States. Two of these have been organized in the last eighteen months and their influence now radiates around the world. In effect they are great merchants and builders to whom thousands of propositions for undertakings in all parts of the globe come and from whom there goes out into every city or province of South America, Russia, China, and South Africa a representative to exchange the native product for that of some other section of the world. These concerns are incorporated and their securities available for private investment.

Railroads and Public Utilities

It has been a fact abundantly commented on that railroad securities have been more neglected in the last two years than ever before in their history. No period of rising prices has ever passed without the leadership in railroad shares. Apparently no one has wanted the "rails" since the day when the "war bride" made her debut. But it should not be forgotten that in two years there have been repurchased from Europe approximately \$2,000,000,000 worth of railroad bonds and stocks, an amount much larger than the American public and its institutions had ever before bought in a similar period of time. It was because of this enforced buying that railroad issues did not rise except in moderate degree. As they were not war stocks, they naturally fall under the classification of peace stocks, though they cannot fail to reflect the relapse to normal of the earnings of many manufacturing companies which have had a great export trade.

Public-utility securities have been similarly

situated, having been placed quite extensively in Europe in the five years preceding the war and then thrown back on the American market, where they were steadily absorbed at a rising average of prices. They, too, are peace stocks with the modification that great industrial activity means abnormal earnings for companies supplying light and power and the service of transportation. In districts where thousands of workers have been mobilized on war contracts there may be expected to be a considerable reduction later on in the revenues of public utilities in these places, though the steady uses of electricity for lighting and power and the universality of the telephone minimize and make temporary any considerable loss.

Will the Interest Rate Be Higher?

The current rate of interest has as much to do with the price of securities as earnings. When the money rate is low, quotations adjust themselves to it quite independent of revenues or equities. There are two strongly opposing views of the interest rate after the war. The common belief is that capital will be in such great demand to reconstruct Europe that money will have greater earning power than it has had since 1914. It would scarcely seem possible that borrowing could exceed the proportions of the last eighteen months. It will take a different form. Long-term bonds will be issued to replace the short-date notes that have been the basis of most of the financing. Since August, 1914, there has been imported into the United States nearly \$1,100,000,000 gold and \$265,000,000 exported. Should the war go on for another three months the net balance of gold here would be about \$1,000,000,000, as December imports alone were over \$100,000,000. Can we hold and control this vast amount of metal, or will it flow back to the countries of its origin as rapidly as it came in? Those who insist that money will decline in value base their conclusions on a great shrinkage in commercial requirements within two years of peace and a partial collapse in the credit structure from the false foundation built on gold inflation. Advocates of this theory look, therefore, for a considerably higher average price for all interest-bearing securities.



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II.—INVESTORS' QUERIES AND ANSWERS

NO. 805—QUARTERLY INCOME SECURITIES

I expect to have, shortly, a little money to invest. I want safety first, and would prefer bonds on which interest is paid quarterly. Can you recommend any of this kind yielding 6 per cent?

We fear you are going to have a good deal of difficulty in finding bonds to meet these specifications. There are very few securities of that type in the American market on which interest is paid quarterly, and the few there are are not obtainable at prices to yield anywhere near 6 per cent. on the investment. The custom has grown up in this country of paying interest on bonds and other securities representing debts semi-annually instead of quarterly.

If you persist in your desire to obtain your income quarterly, as well as your desire for as high a rate as 6 per cent., we know of but one alternative. That is to be found in the category of seasoned, well-established, dividend-paying stocks. It might be that, if we knew more about your circumstances than your letter indicates, we should hesitate to recommend definitely this class of securities for your purposes. But in any event, it may not be amiss for us to mention a few stocks which in our judgment are representative of the more conservative issues. We like issues such as American Sugar Refining preferred, which is obtainable now to yield between 5½ and 6 per cent.; American Telephone & Telegraph, obtainable to yield a little bit over 6 per cent., and Great Northern preferred, obtainable at prices to yield slightly less than 6 per cent. On the first two of these stocks dividends are payable in instalments in January, April, July, and October—on American Sugar Refining preferred at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum and on American Telephone & Telegraph at the rate of 8 per cent. per annum. On Great Northern preferred the dividends are payable in quarterly instalments, beginning February 1, at the rate of 7 per cent. per annum.

NO. 806—BOOKS ABOUT CORPORATE ORGANIZATION

I want to get all the knowledge possible regarding incorporating a business, increasing the capital stock of a corporation, changing a partnership into a corporation, raising funds by stock selling, etc. Kindly name a few books on these subjects.

We believe you would find such books as the following helpful:

"Business Organization and Development," by Robert J. Frank, of the Chicago bar.

"Corporate Management," by Thomas Conyngton.

"Corporate Organization," by Thomas Conyngton.

"Modern Business Corporations," by W. A. Woods.

The first of these four books is described as a practical work showing how to organize and expand a business proposition and how to issue and sell securities. The second and third are described as practical working manuals giving all the essential legal requirements of managing business corporations. And the fourth is described as treating of the organization and management of private corporations, with financial

principles and practises, as explaining the acts of promoters, directors, officers, and stockholders of corporations, and as giving forms of organization, operation, formation, and consolidation of corporations.

NO. 807—RELATION OF CLIENT AND BROKER

Please advise me as to the status of stock held by a broker when bought on margin. If the broker should fail, is the purchaser secure? Would it be any different, if the stock was entirely paid for and simply left with the broker for convenience in case one wanted to sell?

The status of one who carries stock with a brokerage house on margin is that of a general creditor. This is to say that in the event of the failure of the brokerage house, the marginal customer has no claim to any specific part of the assets of the brokers, but must take his chances of settlement along with all of the other general creditors.

In the case of stock purchased outright the situation is different. Here the customer has definite title to his stock and it would be in the nature of a criminal offense for the brokerage firm to devote such stock to its own uses. In cases of this kind, the difficulty with which the customer is most apt to be confronted is in proving his title.

NO. 808—FEDERAL LAND BANKS AND EXISTING FARM LOAN COMPANIES

I would greatly appreciate your advising me what in your opinion will be the effect of the Federal Land Bank Act on the farm loan companies and banks and trust companies making such loans. Do you think there will continue to be sufficient business to go around among all these different classes of institutions?

While we do not know of any way in which a detailed forecast of the effect of the operation of the new Federal Land Mortgage Banks upon existing farm-loan companies can be made, we do not hesitate to express the firm conviction that the better class of the existing companies will continue in business. It is possible, however, that they will eventually have to do business on a smaller margin of profit on the average, owing to a lowering of the general average of interest rates on loans of this character throughout the country.

NO. 809—SUGGESTIONS FOR AN INVESTMENT CLUB

With a number of friends, I have just organized an investment club. We wish to accumulate a certain sum of money and while saving, we are thinking of putting the money in monthly installments into securities. We have had a number of bonds suggested to us, and some stocks like Union Pacific common and United States Steel common. We should like your opinion as to whether we are on the right track.

We can commend the general plan you have hit upon for employing the savings of yourself and your friends as they accumulate from time to time. In fact, we think your idea is excellent. It is our judgment, however, that in such circumstances you might better, for the time being at least, leave active listed stocks out of consideration. It would be much safer to confine your selections of securities to bonds. There is ample opportunity in that class of investment to get distribution or diversification, while avoiding the dangers of the open marketplace.